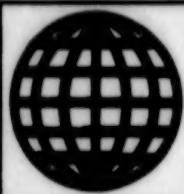


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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-90-038

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CPSU De-Ideologization Viewed As Answer to Perestroyka Crisis

90UN2123A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 24 May 90 p 4

[Interview with Aleksandr Tsipko, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the Worldwide Socialist System, by Armen Gasparian, under rubric "Rostrum for Discussion": "Is a Miracle Possible?"]

[Text] It is a time for dispute. There are those who are categorically convinced that dispute is useless, or, even more than that, harmful. The perniciousness of rallies and the destabilization in society are eagerly discussed. People say that this is wrong, and also should not be allowed. It is a time for dispute about this also...

But what, if not discussion, is capable of untying the knots deep down in our economy, in our interethnic relations, and in our first attempts to acquire the practical skills of parliamentary efficiency and legislative creativity?

And what about the situation in the CPSU? The review of its pregress Platform actually developed into a nationwide discussion. Moreover, one can definitely state that this is not a matter exclusively of intraparty problems. No, the very nature of the document presupposes the broad exchange of opinions with regard to the key problems of life inside of and outside of the party, and to questions of the correlation of the various power structures and the very concept of our perestroyka. The arguments advanced by the proponents of the Marxist and democratic platforms of the CPSU have developed into a broad discussion. Most often people speak of their differences, but isn't it a fact that the opponents have been finding a rather large number of points of contact?

A multiparty system is being born—at times awkwardly and excessively noisily. Once again there is dispute, or, rather, a dialogue, which has taken the place of empty and lying monologues.

It seems to us that the following interview with Aleksandr Tsipko, corresponds to the moment of deep thoughts that we are all experiencing. Of course, not everyone will agree with his position. That is attested to by the fact that a dispute arose in the editorial office during the reading of the material. We invite the readers to participate in that dispute.

If There Weren't A Gorbachev...

[A. Gasparian] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, our intellectuals cannot get rid of their doubts or fears concerning the fate of perestroyka. There arise a large number of questions, including those that pertain to the position taken by our reformist leaders.

One question, for example, is: Would Gorbachev have begun perestroyka if he had known that it would lead to the rejection of the monopoly enjoyed by the CPSU, to

market relations, and to an increase in religious influence and the doubts concerning the desirability of the Leninist choice? Incidentally, foreign analysts are also asking these same questions...

[A. Tsipko] Not only our friends and active supporters of perestroyka in the West, but also we ourselves, who are thirsting for a miracle, who passionately want democracy to develop in our own country at the same rates that it did in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and in Hungary, must not forget that we were the pioneers in leftist, communist totalitarianism. That totalitarianism has established deep roots in our awareness. Unlike the contiguous countries, we had neither the political nor the social conditions for the birth of a powerful opposition. For that reason, not only the Communists, but also people who believe little in communism or do not believe in it at all, could not assume that our country would be able to rid itself as quickly of the omnipotence of Marxist dogmas. Nor, of course, could the leader of perestroyka himself have been able to assume such a development of events.

The limit of the claims made by our party intelligentsia prior to perestroyka was "socialism with a human face." If we dreamed about democracy, it was only of democracy within the party. If we dreamed about an efficient economy, it was only on the basis of collective forms of ownership. No one strove for private enterprise. Everyone spoke only of cost accountability. The intelligentsia dreamed that it would never be persecuted for its convictions—it kept striving for freedom of discussion. But no one assumed that the situation would end by criticizing the political-economic conclusions of Marxism or by reinterpreting the role of October. People dreamed of returning to the Khrushchev thaw, when it would be possible once again without fear to call Stalin a criminal, when it would be possible to rehabilitate his victims, Bukharin, and Trotskiy. But no one assumed that criticism of the executioner would end up as criticism of his victims, or that, as more crimes of Stalinism were revealed, there would be an increasing process of erasing the distinctions between Stalinist terror and the Red Terror of the civil war days.

Why try to delve into M. Gorbachev's innermost thoughts? Why try to find, in what he wrote and thought when he was young, an explanation for what is currently occurring in the country? Are we really supposed to believe that the most radical reformers in Eastern Europe, for example, Adam Mikhnik and Imre Pozsgai, during the 1950's and 1960's, were less "red" than apparatchik Gorbachev? Incidentally, there is no need to go far for examples. Because even those who today are going "farther" than Gorbachev, who insist on a decisive break with the totalitarian heritage, used to think about five or six years ago the same way that everyone else did, within the confines of the rules that had formed for the political game. The paradox of our democratic revolution consists in that its leaders include almost no one who had previously spoken out openly and at risk to

himself in criticizing the foundations of our society. Andrey Sakharov was the exception that only confirms the rule.

[A. Gasparyan] Nevertheless, those who are part of the leftist opposition today appear, in the eyes of their supporters, to be great political radicals.

[A. Tsipko] If there weren't a Gorbachev, if there weren't a perestroika, many of those who head the democratic opposition and the democratic press would still be completely loyal, disciplined Communists and completely orthodox scientists. Take, for example, those who today head the interregional group. None of them took any risk. They did nothing to distinguish themselves against the stagnant background of our stagnant era. Boris Yeltsin, who today is insisting on radical economic reform, on the restoration of private enterprise, and on the restoration of individual farms, when he was first secretary of the Sverdlovsk Obkom and possessed real economic power, never gave a single indulgence to the private or cooperative sector. He used to defend the monopoly of state ownership with the same genuineness with which he fights today for the restoration of the market economy. But one should not rush to accuse him of political inconsistency. It is simply that previously he did not see what he sees today. He was a different person then. This is completely incomprehensible to a foreigner who was born and who grew up in a society where it is generally accepted to give the name "reasonable" to what is reasonable, and the name "absurd" to what is absurd.

[A. Gasparyan] In their letters, readers frequently ask, why is the country that became the initiator of democratic reforms lagging today behind its East European neighbors both with regard to the depth and the rates of liberation from Stalinist socialism?

[A. Tsipko] The specific nature of our perestroika lies in the fact that, unlike the reforms in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, it began at the top. The modernization of the system was begun on the initiative of the ruling party. Whereas in Poland everything was begun by the opposition—Walesa, Kuron, Mihnuk—in our country everything was begun by "apparatchiks" Gorbachev, Yakovlev, and other leaders. They not only gave birth to perestroika, but also created an opposition to themselves. In Poland or Czechoslovakia the people capable of heading the reform movement were outside of the party, and therefore, from the very beginning, their political actions were aimed at destroying the party and state structures. Therefore, from the very beginning, the struggle in those countries was waged against the communist legitimacy of those states, or, to put it in direct terms, against communism and socialism. The situation was entirely different in our country.

Perestroika began within the party. And it was able to declare itself to be only an initiative aimed at reinforcing the positions of socialism and the party.

[A. Gasparyan] But today we have become the witnesses of a different development of events...

[A. Tsipko] It is necessary to tell oneself the truth, to say what perestroika is and why we are carrying it out. As is generally known, it began under the banner of the renewal of our society, under the slogans of the renewal of socialism. There were many reasons for this. Just like any other revolution from the top, it could begin only as a loyal act that was illuminated by the authority of consistent ideology, only within the confines of communist legitimacy, as a political undertaking aimed at reinforcing the existing system in the USSR, as an act that was called upon to save socialism on a worldwide scale.

If you return mentally to the period five years ago and read M. S. Gorbachev's statements made at that time, primarily his statement at the working conference of the first secretaries of the ruling Communist and workers parties in December 1986 in Moscow, you will discover that they deal primarily with the need to save socialism, the need to save that system that was confirmed in the USSR as a result of October and that then spread on a worldwide scale. They dealt with the need to remove from our society's initial Marxist nucleus its subsequent excrescences, the holdovers from the Stalin era, from the Brezhnev era, etc.

Today many people forget where perestroika began and what its primary thoughts and ideas were as it began to move along its path.

Reforms from the top are good in that they guarantee the preservation of the old consensus and make it possible to preserve stability and to avoid disintegration. A reform from the top also makes it possible to involve in the reforms the democratically minded segment of the party and state apparatus. We should not forget that in our country, unlike Poland, Czechoslovakia, or Hungary, the most highly skilled, most authoritative segment of the intelligentsia was closely linked with the party.

But simultaneously the policy of reforms within the confines of the old system of coordinates tied our hands in the democratic reforms. Revolution from the top, revolution within the confines of communist legitimacy, from the very beginning hampered the thorough analysis of the initial sources of the crisis phenomena and made it difficult to tell the whole truth about our choice and its results. Therefore we were simply doomed to take halfway measures. People saw what was happening and they thought: the nationalization of the economy is ineffective. But, while insisting on the correctness of the socialist choice, they were forced to defend the idea of the socializing of the means of production. Therefore, at a time when, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, GDR, and Hungary, the question was being raised concerning denationalization, privatization, and the changeover to the market economy, we were forced to limit ourselves to cost accountability, and to insist on the combining of the

market with the state monopoly organization of production. That halfway approach and inconsistency had a particular effect in our 1987 decisions, which form the basis of the economic reform that is being carried out.

We used to say that a peasant will become a peasant only if he becomes an owner. But, despite these incantations, we were a bit afraid to give the peasant his own land. We limited ourselves to leasing the land within the confines of the existing kolkhoz and sovkhoz form of organizing labor.

We used to talk about the need to change over to a law-governed state, but we used to hang onto Article 6 in the Constitution with all our might and used to criticize the very possibility of changing over to a multiparty system.

We used to insist on returning to civilization, on the primacy of universal human values, and from those positions we would criticize Stalin's crimes. But on the other hand, we also insisted on the correctness and the desirability of using revolutionary violence in Russia, and justified terror and the victims that it created.

All these factors had to introduce blatant contradictions into our ideology.

It was necessary to spend five years of perestroika in order to understand that the logic of development is breaking out of the Procrustean bed of preserving the previous communist legitimacy. For example, against the background of the old Marxist agrarian program the idea of a lease appears to be extremely revolutionary, but for the peasant itself this is just the latest in a series of tricks perpetrated by the authority. Because that authority has always deceived him and there are no guarantees that tomorrow it will not take back the land that it has leased to him. The peasantry as a whole has not accepted the lease system. It agrees to manage independently only its own land. It is also impossible to combine in one's soul the censuring of Stalinist terror and warm feelings toward revolutionary terror.

We spent five years of perestroika in order to realize that, in essence, the renewal of Stalinist socialism is impossible. And that there is no special path. It is impossible to combine the market and state monopoly. And the return to the market is inconceivable without private and collective enterprise, without privatization. It is impossible to create a law-governed state without changing over to a multiparty system, without rejecting the monopoly on power. It is impossible to earn for oneself the right to return to civilization, to Europe, without breaking away from the idea of the forcible transformation of social life.

The perestroika crisis that began in recent months is linked primarily with the crisis in its original ideology, with the crisis of the idea of the renewal of socialism.

[A. Gasparyan] But there is a point of view that we do not know real socialism, that it simply never existed. Can something that society has failed to achieve exhaust itself?

[A. Tsipkov] But it is necessary to proceed from the achieved realities. In all the East European countries, attempts to reform the old model of socialism suffered defeat. It turned out that between the so-called Stalinist model of socialism and the present-day parliamentary market society there are no intermediate stages and there cannot be any. The improvement of real socialism in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia by virtue of the implacable logic of events turned into the dismantling of what was generally called socialism, in the process of removing the Communists from power, the process of de-ideologization and denationalization.

If you wish, the experience of these countries makes one think that the so-called system of administration by fiat can be overcome only by developing private ownership and private enterprise. From private ownership it is possible to make the transition to cooperative production. But it turned out this transition cannot be made from state ownership. Chimeras are mythological creatures. They are not viable. Nowhere, not in a single sphere of life, were we ourselves or the reformers of the East European countries able to hold out on intermediate, compromise positions.

Nevertheless a Crisis

[A. Gasparyan] Does this mean, then, that you feel that the present perestroika crisis that we are having such difficulty in experiencing is linked with the crisis of the original philosophy of perestroika?

[A. Tsipko] In general, yes. It is already clear that, within the confines of communist dogma, it is impossible to define the strategy for further development. From positions of common sense it is difficult to combine the current annihilating criticism of real socialism with the declarations and assertions of our faithfulness to the perpetually alive theory. Life demands that we do not reduce the rates, but, rather, move quickly ahead along the selected path for the de-ideologization of the economy, domestic and foreign policy, and culture. But fear of divorcing oneself from doctrine is a hindrance. Here it is several months after M.S. Gorbachev's election and we are still marking time. We are afraid to take a decisive step along the path of de-ideologizing our society, along the path of changing over to a worldly, law-governed state...

Today the choice that our country and its leadership face has been simplified as much as possible. If that leadership is inclined to continue perestroika and to lead the country into civilization, into a world of democracy and individual rights, it will be forced to de-ideologize both our state and its policy, to reject the languages of "isms" and change over to the language of real problems, of real solutions that are understandable by everyone. In my

opinion, we today can do completely without the previous judgments concerning the opposition between socialism and capitalism. These concepts themselves are a logical trap from which there is no way out to real life and real problems. If we intend to save the country and to overcome the poverty, backwardness, and demoralization, it is necessary speak of specific economic and political measures that are capable of improving the situation in society.

Isn't it better for us to refrain from making any comparisons between capitalism and socialism, and to say that there are healthy societies and there are sick societies? It is impossible to have any philosophical or political pluralism in a society where the monopoly on the truth continues to belong to Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

If we do not want a repetition of 1929, the next in a series of counterrevolutions, the latest use of violence against freedom and common sense, then we are simply obliged to make the ideological superstructure conform to the objective needs for the country's development.

[A. Gasparyan] But what about the CPSU in this instance? Am I correct in thinking that you do not agree that it must be saved as the basic integrating force in society?

[A. Tsipko] In my opinion, it is necessary to make the name of the CPSU and its philosophy conform to those specific tasks that it is currently resolving. Essentially speaking, it is currently a people's party, which is attempting to revive democracy and a law-governed state in Russia. There is currently nothing doctrinaire or communistic in the real activity of the CPSU. And thank God for that! Because we have proclaimed our consent to honor universally democratic and universally human values.

[A. Gasparyan] What then, according to your forecasts, will occur subsequently in our country? What alternatives are possible?

[A. Tsipko] I see at least three possible alternatives. The first, which is the most desirable for me personally and also, I think, for the overwhelming democratically-minded segment of society. I am talking about having faith that our President will continue in the future to travel along the path of the demythologizing of our state and our life, and will use his new power in order to overcome totalitarianism completely, to de-ideologize the economy, the army, the KGB, and foreign policy, and, possibly, to de-ideologize the CPSU.

[A. Gasparyan] But how can one de-ideologize a political party?

[A. Tsipko] For me it is obvious: the CPSU as the party that cements the totalitarian structure, as the party that penetrates into all pores of society, that organizes social life as a whole, is dead. It can no longer exist in the old way under conditions when people now have the opportunity for a political choice, when the secrecy and the

truth about our history have been revealed. And it would be senseless to insist on a return to the old state. For me, the party remains a form of organization for the most enlightened and most active segment of society, as a type of people's party that developed historically, and a type of movement for the entire nation. And so I would leave it in the form in which it exists, without laying any claim to communist messianism, and I would remain in that kind of people's-democratic party. It must be said honestly that today a considerable, overwhelming segment of the party is united only by the ideals of democracy, that the party, having recognized its blame and its responsibility to the country, to Russia and its population, will do everything possible to restore civilized society in Russia and to convert it into a law-governed democratic society.

In order to save the situation and avoid disintegration, it is necessary at a congress to re-form the CPSU, to change it into a centrist democratic movement. All this can be done without any special effort by changing over to the people's positions and announcing it to be the party that will save the state and save people's life. The new ideology will bring out onto the political scene new people who are more reasonable, and will lead to a considerable expansion of its social base.

[A. Gasparyan] Doesn't it seem to you that all this is in the realm of Utopia?

[A. Tsipko] Of course, all this seems like a miracle. But perhaps we will finally subordinate ourselves to the needs of life and to common sense. By remaining hostages to the idea of actual equality, we will be unable to oppose successfully the chief political danger, to withstand the pressure of populist moods, or to oppose the demagoguery.

The second alternative for the development of events is if the reformers in the party lose, if they yield their democratic positions, or if there is a frank alliance between the reformers who have yielded, on the one hand, and the conservatives and the communist fundamentalists, on the other. There is no need to attempt to prove that this outcome will mean primarily political death for the reformers themselves. Dogmatists will not forgive them for having playing around with democracy and pluralism.

In any instance, in my opinion, the time for the balancing of the reformers between the "fundamentalists" and various kinds of liberal-democratic movements has already passed. It is necessary either to put one's stake on the democratic center that unites the healthiest segment of society, or to lose.

[A. Gasparyan] Recently one has begun seeing more and more frequently at rallies posters like "I will swap an old bureau for a round table from a Czech dining room set." Of course there are all kinds of slogans, but we have already begun talking quite seriously about the tactics and opportunities of a round table. To what extent is this approach justified under our conditions?

[A. Tsipko] Many people currently are dreaming about the East European alternative for the development of events, about the total, clean loss by the democrats, and about the complete capitulation of the "hard heads." But to be perfectly honest with you, I am still afraid of that outcome. For the time being, I do not see any forces that have the moral or human right to lay claim to power or, most important, that possess the necessary qualities to lead such a vast country as ours. This takes time. It is necessary for us to see what the leaders of the current opposition, the leaders of the new parties and movements, are carrying in their souls, and see what they are capable of. It doesn't require any special intelligence to shout at rallies about the Kremlin Mafia.

For the time being, there is no one to give the power to, and also no reason to do so. But the old, current power can count on support only when it will actually preserve and expand the conditions for the development of democracy. For this same reason I would not rush with the so-called "round table." Of course, in addition to the danger that the power will transfer over to lightweight, casual democrats, there also exists the danger of an antidemocratic coup, which will again close off to us for a long time the path to civilization. It is also necessary to take that into consideration. Nevertheless I do not see that we have an opportunity at the present moment for the kind of round table that occurred in Poland in 1989.

One can see here, in my opinion, the effect of the error that is linked with stereotypes and a thought process based on analogies. Because first it is necessary to clarify who is going to sit, and with whom, at the round table... I definitely do not discount the fact that our democratic intelligentsia, the leaders of the democratic movement, did much for perestroika in the country after 1986. Without a doubt, their efforts and their upsurge urged the renewal on. But nevertheless if they sit down at the round table of negotiations with the President, they will never be like the participants of the round table that occurred, for example, in Poland in 1989. They included the Solidarity leaders who had literally snatched freedom from Jaruselski's hands and who paid for that freedom by imprisonment for 6-7 years, like Adam Mhnik, people who proved that, under extreme conditions, conditions of imprisonment and a struggle, they actually can continue to be people. They are people whom history tested as political personalities. Unfortunately, we have very few people like that...

The fact of the matter is that all our leaders of democratic movements received democracy and freedom—with the exception, of course, of persons of the type of Andrey Sakharov, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and certain others—from the hands of Gorbachev himself. Thus they are not on equal terms. Unfortunately, not everyone understands this. People are moved by their political ambition—that is understandable. But can one forget that they all became political leaders and acquired popularity only thanks to the fact that Gorbachev created the political conditions for that, when it became possible to bring one's ideas out into the street without an fear or

risk? Although here too it was necessary to possess a definite amount of bravery—everything was really not that simple.

Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, and others like them, even before perestroika sacrificed themselves, risked their life, and mounted the scaffold in the name of democracy. But what is surprising is that they have not proven to be among the leaders of the current democratic movement. I am definitely not blaming them for this. It is simply, I repeat, that we do not have here a situation analogous to the one that existed in the East European countries.

Therefore, for the time being, from a moral point of view, a round table under these conditions cannot become a completely equal dialogue. For this purpose there must elapse some definite period of political development so that political parties can appear, and so that charismatic leaders who have the moral right to speak on behalf of the nation and on equal terms can appear. A round table is possible between Gorbachev and, say, the best-known representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia. The participants must include not only people who know how to conduct rallies, but also those who are outstanding figures, such as Dmitriy Sergeyevich Ligachev and others. That is, people who have intellectual and spiritual authority.

But for the time being we are moving in the coordinates of that freedom that was received thanks to the tactics of Gorbachev as a politician.

Incidentally, the preservation of stability is possible only when the problem of the legitimacy of our state as a whole has been resolved. It is necessary for the reorganization of the CPSU to coincide in time with our country's changeover to natural, historical legitimacy. It is necessary to set up in people's awareness more stable supports for their trust in the state in which they are living.

We cannot continue in the future to abstract ourselves from the fact that that state was formed on the ruins of the old Russian empire, that the Russian cultural heritage is the heritage of old Russia, and we also cannot forget that Russians continue to constitute the center of that state. We cannot forget that the fate of the predominant Slavic segment of our country's population is linked with the history of Russia.

Russia at a Crossroads of History

[A. Gasparyan] Why?

[A. Tsipko] Because until the Russians realize that perestroika conforms to their fundamental interests, until they see its link with their own fate, in other words, until the "Russian question" is resolved not on the level of illusions and Utopias, it will be impossible to count on any political stability.

[A. Gasparyan] But won't a new danger of great-power chauvinism arise?

[A. Tsipko] Chauvinism is dangerous, national arrogance is dangerous, and national extremism is dangerous. But without self-awareness, a normal spiritual national self-awareness, and the return to the Russian identity of all the nations populating our country, it is impossible in my view, to achieve the resolution of the problem. It is impossible to build a new society on general principles that are universal for all nations and on the criticism of the apparatus and privileges, on which our democrats are striving to achieve success. I am frightened when we begin to act slyly here. Our leaders, who in and of themselves are Russians, do not know how to speak specifically to the Russian nation, to speak about Russian problems, and do not know how, or are afraid, to speak on behalf of the Russian nation. But this is important for Russia. The truth also lies in the fact that in our country the problems of all the other nations, and their rights in this state, have not been resolved. That explains, for example, what is in my view the exaggerated fear of Jewish pogroms. We have not said aloud a very important and normal thing: that the Jews living on the territory of Russia, like all the other nations that are linked with the fate of Russia, have the complete and equal right both to its territory and to the future. This is obvious and it would remove many problems.

It seems to me that before striving to achieve tranquility and to achieve harmony and consensus, it is necessary to clarify all the interests, to find out specifically what these nations want, and only then to begin to combine those interests. You cannot create anything solid on myth or illusion.

But nevertheless I take the point of view that we must approach the historic legitimacy of the current state formation as the successor of the previous Russian state system. This is the only reasonable way out.

[A. Gasparyan] That is, you see the way out in having Russia become the center of the state system, but on a new basis. Not as a "big brother" for other nations, but specifically as a nucleus that unites the forces? But once again this is like a miracle—Russia has been tortured by its problems, and our state is being torn asunder by centrifugal forces...

[A. Tsipko] I do not see any serious reasons why we should reject the Russian legitimacy of the current state, because the conviction that continues to prevail to the present time, that our current state was born in 1917 or

in 1922, is absolutely delirious. Whether we like it or not, there is nowhere we can go to escape the fact that the USSR is the direct heir of the Russian state, that the history of the USSR was the direct continuation of the history of Russia, that the culture of the USSR grew primarily out of the traditions of Russian culture, and that, in the final analysis, our entire life has been burdened by unresolved Russian problems. The indigenous Slavic population of Russia, which bore on its shoulders the basic load of the war, saved not the USSR, but primarily the entire Russian state system that had existed for a thousand years, saved all the nations of Russia that were linked by a common fate.

Of course, the fate of the nations populating tsarist Russia developed differently. Some were oppressed more, and others were oppressed less. But nevertheless it was Russia, a state formation that had grown naturally, a formation that united the fates of many nations. It was their common home, their common fate. Incidentally, it now becomes clear to us that even economically the old, backward Russia was more viable than the present-day Soviet, advanced Russia. At least the old Russia did not experience such a hunger for workmen, people who know how to work and to think, that the current Soviet Russia is experiencing.

It would be at least folly to deprive the Russians of their self-realization as the spiritual and historical successor of the past, to deprive them of their Russian identity and their self-awareness for the reason that imperial Russia had oppressed other nations.

Of course, the search for the meaning of Russian history and the search for Russian identity are sometimes accompanied by outbursts of social pathology, and that causes justified alarm and requires the government to act decisively. But it would be naive to assume that the way out of this pathological, morbid condition in which a nation that was crippled by revolution and civil war finds itself is possible in a pure, civilized form. It is time for the intelligentsia to take a realistic point of view and to take its place at the head of this morbid and complicated process of arousing Russian self-awareness, the growth and self-realization of Russian history, and of belonging to it. It would be naive to assume that our state can become healthy and economically powerful without calling to life Russian patriotism and the national pride of Russians and of all the nations historically linked with the fate of old Russia. We must not trample what we stand on.

Armenian Deputies Appeal to Gorbachev

90US:080A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
6 Jun 90 p 1

[Appeal to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev from Armenian USSR People's Deputies Sergey Ambartsumyan, Khoren Abramyan, Frunze Dovlatyan, Edgar Oganesyan, Edvard Mirzoyan, Stepan Pashyan, and Grigor Khandzhyan: "To President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich!

As you know, tragic events occurred in Yerevan on May 27th as a result of which 23 Armenian civilians and one Soviet Army serviceman died. We condemn all those who have set out on the path of illegal seizure of weapons from Soviet Army soldiers and law enforcement organ agents. No matter what the motives were for such acts, they undoubtedly are inadmissible. However, to be limited by this certification means to speak a half-truth that as we all know is worse than a lie because in contrast to it, a half-truth has a greater chance to pose as the truth in its completeness and entirety.

While analyzing the causes of the tragedy that occurred, we arrived at the conclusion that they cannot be understood in isolation from the situation that has developed during recent months in the Transcaucasus region and the situation in Nagorny Karabakh and around it.

We have repeatedly warned about the possible tragic consequences of suppressing the will of the people of NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] for self-determination and attempts through force and terror to change the demographic situation in the Autonomous Oblast and in the Armenian-populated areas adjacent to it in favor of the Azeri side. The harsh military and political pressing to which NKAO's Armenian population is being subjected to suffocate its democratic striving for self-determination and deliverance from the regime of apartheid that has been instilled by the so-called Azerbaijan republic organizing committee has become truly monstrous in recent months. Under the cover of the emergency situation and with the assistance of USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops, Baku is undertaking feverish efforts to settle the Oblast and densely populated Armenian residential areas adjacent to it with Azeris and to expel the Armenian Aborigine population from there.

Thus, already at the end of February, along the fresh tracks of the January Pogroms and the murders of Armenians, Russians, and Soviet Army soldiers in Baku and acts of demonstrations of force on the Soviet-Iran border, the Azeri authorities with the silent approval of the center organized the deportations of Armenians from the villages of Azat and Kamo of Azerbaijan's Khanlar-skiy Rayon which is adjacent to Nagorno-Karabakh.

This cynical act caused outrage and indignation both in NKAO and in Armenia. The opinion has begun to take

shape in the broad strata of the population of our Republic that the center has yielded to gross forceful pressure from the Azeri side and has converted the fate of NKAO's Armenian population and the densely populated areas adjacent to it into small change used to appease Azerbaijan. Understanding the seriousness of the consequences of this shift in Republic public opinion and attempting to prevent implementation of this dangerous plan, we sounded the alarm. But our voices were not heard: With the center's connivance, Armenians were totally deported from Kamo and Azat. It was precisely at that time that our voices particularly loudly rang out about the fact that the center is only considering brute force and is ignoring the civilized and democratic method of posing national problems.

We will point out that a certain basis for this opinion had already been prepared by the consequences of the massacre of Armenians in Sumgait. However, this version received almost universal recognition in the Republic precisely after the January crimes in Baku and the Azeri side's wide-scale offensive against the rights of Karabakh Armenians that followed it. It also became the culture medium for acute exacerbation of the internal political situation in NKAO and Armenia.

There was no opportunity whatsoever to refute this version and to calm Republic society since pressure on Karabakh Armenians increased even further in subsequent months. At the beginning of April at the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Plenum, A. Mutalibov, leader of the Azerbaijan Communists, openly appealed for the Azerization of NKAO. First of all, by means of achieving a radical preponderance of Azeri representation "throughout the entire vertical of power." Second, by settling NKAO with Azeris to change the demographic composition of the Oblast's population.

The April 21 approval of an illegal decision by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium to change the NKAO administrative territorial division was the next step toward supercharging the situation around NKAO. This act, which was openly aimed at changing the demographic situation in Nagorny Karabakh plunged the Armenian people into shock. No one, even in their thoughts, could assume that the laws that guarantee the right of autonomous formations and organs of local self-government would be violated in such an openly cynical form. Really no later than April 9 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Law "On General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Management in the USSR," Article 23 Paragraph 4 of which guarantees provision of powers to local self-government organ according to a territory's development. It requires "mandatory coordination of measures that can result in economic, demographic, and other consequences that affect the interests of the territory's population with appropriate Councils of people's deputies." However, you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, as the country's President, did not express your attitude toward the 21 April illegal decision of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium. And this despite its obvious divergence with union law....

Acts of military intimidation followed right after this illegal act of political pressure. On April 24, on the Day of Remembrance of the victims of the Armenian genocide of 1915 that was carried out by Ottoman Turkey on the territory of Western Armenia, NKAO emergency situation rayon military headquarters employed repressions against participants of the funereal ceremony. In subsequent days, these repressions acquired a systematic nature that took the form of a purposeful tactic of military terror against the Autonomous Oblast's Armenian population. It is difficult to refute the thought that the goal that is being pursued by this terror is to force the Armenian population either to leave the Oblast or to agree with the plan being implemented by the Azeri authorities to change the demographic situation in NKAO, 80 percent of whose population today consists of Armenians.

On the other hand, on May 17, the CPSU Central Committee Organ Newspaper PRAVDA published its own correspondent's wide-ranging interview with Azerbaijan Communist Party First Secretary A. Mutalibov. In this article with the significant headline "Steps Toward Stability," the leader of the Azerbaijan Communists while speaking about the NKAO problem directly refers to his own speech at the April Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Plenum. What is this other than a declaration from the pages of PRAVDA of the decision that was previously adopted at the Republic CP Central Committee Plenum and that was later reinforced by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium directive on demographic aggression against NKAO? And A. Mutalibov sees "steps toward stability" in the wake of this directive?! And PRAVDA agrees with him in this regard?! That is, it sees stabilization of the situation in NKAO on the paths of eliminating the Autonomous Oblast's Armenian ethnic group?

It is obvious that this "solution" to the problem of stability in NKAO needed a definite political and ideological foundation. Really we all know what kind of resonance the democratic struggle of the NKAO people for self-determination received in the world. What kind of sympathy the humane and essentially democratic goal of reunification of the Armenian people caused among civilized humanity. There are such weighty documents in this regard as the decisions of the United States Senate, the European Parliament, and a number of other authoritative organizations. On the eve of your visit to the United States, you had to find a plausible explanation of why until the present time the natural and inalienable right of a nation—the right to self-determination—has been flouted over a period of more than two years in our "rule-of-law" State? And well the reason has been turned up by will of fate or by malicious intent: A tragedy occurred on May 27. A tragedy that the country's semi-official propaganda has used to drag the label of Armenian terrorism out into the light. In order to disparage the fine ideals of our people's democratic movement and to cast a shadow on it in the eyes of civilized humanity.

On the day prior to the tragedy, the "Vremya" [News] Program, just like the Delphic oracle, broadcast ominous

prophecies that astonishingly literally came true just a few hours later. Was it really only through will of foresight?

We have been living in a situation of permanent genocide, blockade, physical and moral terror, attacks and insinuations in the central mass media and incitements of anti-Armenian moods in the country for a little over two years. And this is all after the horrible earthquake that took thousands of lives and left hundreds of thousands of the republic's residents without roofs over their heads. People have been found whose psyche could not withstand the inhuman conditions, the blockade existence, and the trial by terror by the unpunished robbery of neighbors and a feeling of a national lack of protection and infringement.

Only a man who has seen the victims of Sumgait, Baku, and Gyandzhi can understand the attempt to have means of self-protection at any price. Old men and old women beaten to death, children who have been crippled for their entire lives, and raped women who will never savor the joy of marriage and motherhood. Those who doomed them to these inhuman tortures and who also ruined the spirits of the victims of the May 27 tragedy. Thousands and thousands of people have been morally crippled who no longer can live peacefully in this world. And today they demand guarantees of their natural right to life. The people of NKAO demand this in their indomitable longing for self-determination as the only method for their physical survival in the conditions that have been created.

We assess the text "Servicemen's Appeal to the President of the USSR" published on May 31 by PRAVDA as part of a well planned campaign that is pursuing the goal of removing the NKAO problem from the agenda and of satisfying Azerbaijan's claim to maintain the regime of apartheid in NKAO right up to the final expulsion of Armenians from the Autonomous Oblast and settling it with Azeris.

We appeal to you as the country's President to put an end to the campaign of physical and moral-psychological terror with regard to NKAO's Armenian population and to repeal the April 21 decision of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Decisively condemning the criminals who are seizing combat weapons from Soviet Army soldiers, we express a protest against accusing them of terrorism until an investigation establishes the true motives of their crimes. And, finally, we once again urgently demand that the sufferings of NKAO's Armenian people be put to an end and provide the needed conditions to implement their natural right to self-determination.

With respect,

USSR People's Deputies:

Sergey Ambartsumyan, Khoren Abramyan, Frunze Dovlatyan, Edgar Oganessian, Edvard Mirzoyan, Stepan Pashyan, and Grigor Khandzhyan.

Armenian Draft Law on Electing President

90US1055A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
3 Jun 90 pp 1-2

["The Law of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic On the Elections of the President of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] I. General Statutes

Article 1. The Foundations of the Elections of the Armenian SSR President

The elections of the Armenian SSR President are conducted on the basis of the free implementation of the universal, equal, and direct electoral right with secret voting, for a term of 5 years.

Article 2. The Universal Electoral Right

The elections of the Armenian SSR President are universal: Citizens of the Armenian SSR who have attained 18 years of age have the right to vote.

A citizen of the Armenian SSR no younger than 30 and no older than 65 may be elected Armenian SSR President. The same individual cannot be Armenian SSR President for more than two consecutive terms.

Any sort of direct or indirect limitations of the electoral rights of Armenian SSR citizens depending upon origin, social or proprietary status, sex, education, attitude toward religion, or type or nature of occupation is prohibited.

Mentally ill citizens, those declared legally incompetent, and persons held in places of detention by court sentence do not participate in the elections. Persons for whom maintenance under guard has been chosen as a preventive measure in the procedure established by law do not take part in the elections.

Article 3. The Equal Electoral Right

The elections of the Armenian SSR President are equal: Every voter has one vote; voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

Military servicemen enjoy the electoral rights equal to those of all voters.

Article 4. The Direct Electoral Right

The elections of the Armenian SSR President are direct. The Armenian SSR President is elected directly by the citizens.

Article 5. Secret Voting

The voting for the elections of the Armenian SSR President is secret. Control over the voters' expression of their will is not permitted.

Article 6. Conducting Elections Through Election Commissions

The preparation for and conduct of the elections of the Armenian SSR President are ensured by the election commissions, which are formed from representatives elected by meetings (conferences) of labor collectives, public organizations, collectives of specialized, secondary specialized, and higher academic institutions, residence-based voters' meetings and military unit servicemen's meetings.

Article 7. Glasnost in Preparing for and Conducting the Elections of the Armenian SSR President

The preparation for and conduct of the elections of the Armenian SSR President are implemented by election commissions, labor collectives, and public organizations openly and publicly.

The election commissions inform the citizens of their work, of the organization of election okrugs, the composition, location, and time of operation of the election commissions, and the list of voters. The election commissions inform the citizens of the results of the nomination and registration of candidates for president, and biographical data on the registered candidates, the fundamental positions of their pre-election programs, and the results of voting for each candidate and the election results.

Representatives of public organizations, the press, television, and radio with the appropriate authority, and representatives of labor collectives, collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, residence-based voters' meetings, and military unit servicemen's meetings, as well as proxies, have the right to be present at the sessions of the election commissions, including during the registration of candidates nominated for president, the sealing of the ballot boxes, the opening and tallying of votes at election precincts, and the determination of the election results, as well as during the course of all the voting.

The number of these representatives is determined by the appropriate election commission, which creates equal conditions for ensuring the representatives' presence. The representatives' authority must be certified by the appropriate document, the decision of the collectives or their soviets, residence-based voters' meetings, and military unit servicemen's meetings, which inform the appropriate election commission of this no later than 3 days before the elections.

The mass information media cover the course of preparing for and conducting the elections of the Armenian SSR President. Unrestricted access to all meetings and sessions associated with the elections is guaranteed to

their representatives. The election commissions, local and public organs, and labor collectives present them with information connected with the preparation for and conduct of the elections.

Article 8. The Participation of Citizens, Labor Collectives, and Public Organizations in Preparing for and Conducting the Elections of the Armenian SSR President

Armenian SSR Citizens participate in preparing for and conducting the elections of the Armenian SSR President both through labor collectives, public organizations, collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, residence-based voters' meetings, and military unit servicemen's meetings, and directly.

Labor collectives, collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, residence-based voters' meetings, and military unit servicemen's meetings participate in preparing for and conducting the elections of the Armenian SSR President both through their representatives in the election commissions and directly.

Article 9. The Right to Nominate Candidates for Armenian SSR President

The right to nominate candidates for Armenian SSR President belongs to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and republic organs of public organizations.

Article 10. The Incompatibility of the Status of Armenian SSR President with the Execution of Other Responsibilities

The Armenian SSR President may simultaneously be an Armenian SSR people's deputy, or people's deputy of a local soviet of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR.

Article 11. Expenses Associated with the Elections of the Armenian SSR President. The Material Provisions for the Elections

The expenses associated with preparing for and conducting the elections of the Armenian SSR President are incurred at the expense of the state. The financing of any measures associated with preparing for and conducting the elections at the expense of other sources is prohibited.

Article 12. Responsibility for the Violation of the Law on the Elections of the Armenian SSR President

Persons hindering by force, deceit, threat, or other means, the free implementation of the Armenian SSR citizen's right to vote for or be elected Armenian SSR President, to conduct a pre-election campaign, as well as members of the election commissions or officials of state and public organs who commit forgery of election documents, intentional incorrect tallying of votes, violation of the secret voting, or commit other infractions of this law are subject to responsibility established by law.

Persons who publish or disseminate by other means false information concerning a candidate for president are also held accountable.

II. The Procedure for Designating Elections and the Forming Election Precincts

Article 13. The Procedure for Designating the Elections of the Armenian SSR President

The elections of the Armenian SSR President are designated by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than 3 months before the expiration of his authority.

Information on the day of elections is published in the press.

Article 14. The Formation of Election Precincts

The territory of the rayons, cities, and city rayons is divided into election precincts for conducting voting and tallying votes for the elections of the Armenian SSR President.

Election precincts may be formed in sanatoria and rest homes, in hospitals and other in-patient treatment facilities, in locations with citizens in remote and inaccessible regions.

Article 15. The Procedure and Norm of Formation of Election Precincts

The election precincts are formed by rayon, city (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums. In military units, the election commissions are formed by local soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums at the recommendation of the unit or troop formation commanders.

Election precincts are formed no later than 2 months before the elections. In military units, as well as remote or inaccessible rayons, the election precincts are formed in the same period, and in exceptional cases, no later than 3 days before the elections.

Election precincts are formed with no fewer than 30 and no greater than 3,000 voters.

In exceptional cases, the soviet of people's deputies or its presidium, or military unit commander has the right to form an election precinct with a greater or lesser number of voters.

The local soviet of people's deputies or its presidium establishes a single enumeration of the election precincts within the borders of the rayon, city, or city rayon.

The appropriate local soviet of people's deputies or its presidium informs the voters of the borders of each election precinct, with an indication of the location of the election commission and premises for polling.

III. The Election Commissions

Article 16. The System of Election Commissions

Election commissions prepare and conduct the elections of the Armenian SSR President:

The Central Election Commission for the elections of Armenian SSR people's deputies;

Rayon, city (except in cities with rayon subdivisions) and city rayon election commissions;

Precinct election commissions.

Article 17. The Formation of the Central Election Commission for the Elections of the Armenian SSR People's Deputies

From among the representatives nominated by labor collectives, republic organs of public organizations, collectives of specialized, secondary specialized, and higher academic institutions, residence-based voters' meetings and military unit servicemen's meetings the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet forms the Central Election Commission no later than 3 months before the elections, in the composition of the commission chairman, two deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 19 other members.

The term of authority of the Central Election Commission is 5 years.

Article 18. The Authority of the Central Election Commission for the Elections of People's Deputies

The Central Election Commission:

1) exercises control over the execution of this law and ensures its uniform application within the entire territory of the Armenian SSR; if necessary, it offers conceptions of the interpretation of this law to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet;

2) directs the activity of the election commissions; petitions the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium on the introduction of alterations in the body of the election commissions;

3) registers the nominated candidates for president and issues them the appropriate identification; ensures the publication of posters with biographical data on the candidates for president and their pre-election programs;

4) registers the proxies of the candidates nominated for president, and ensures their unimpeded access to all measures associated with the preparation for and conduct of the elections;

5) allocates the financial resources among the election commissions, controls the provision of the election commissions with premises, transportation, and communications, and considers other issues of material-technical support of the elections;

6) establishes the forms of the election ballots for the election of the Armenian SSR President, the lists of

voters, and the minutes of the meetings of the election commissions, other election documents, and models of ballots boxes and seals of election commissions, and the procedure for the storage of election documents;

7) hears the reports of the election commissions, ministries, state committees, and departments of the Armenian SSR, and other state and public organizations on the issues associated with the preparation for and the conduct of the elections;

8) confirms the text of the election ballot; ensures the production of the ballots and their provision to the rayon, city (except in cities with republic subordination) and city rayon election commissions;

9) tallies the elections within the entire territory of the republic, registers the elected president, publishes in the press a report on the election results and the elected Armenian SSR President;

10) issues the Armenian SSR President certification of his election;

11) resolves issues associated with conducting repeat elections;

12) resolves issues associated with the organization of a recall of the Armenian SSR President;

13) organizes the elections of an Armenian SSR President to replace one who has departed;

14) considers the statements and complaints about the resolutions and actions of the election commissions and brings them to a final resolution;

15) transfers to the investigative organs materials on violations of the Law on the Elections of the Armenian SSR President;

16) exercises other powers in accordance with this law.

Article 19. Rayon, City (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), City Rayon, Settlement, and Village Election Commissions

Rayon, city (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), city rayon, settlement, and village election commissions participate in the elections of the Armenian SSR President; they are formed for the elections of people's deputies to local soviets of people's deputies.

Article 20. The Authorities of Rayon, City (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), City Rayon, Settlement, and Village Election Commissions

Rayon, city (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), city rayon, settlement, and village election commissions:

1) organize the conduct of election and exercise control over the execution of this law over the territory of the rayon, city, city rayon, settlement and village;

2) direct the activity of the precinct election commissions;

3) hear the reports of the leaders of the executive-administrative organs of the local soviets of people's deputies on issues of the organization and conduct of the elections;

4) observe the compilation of the lists of voters and their presentation for universal familiarization;

5) provide election ballots to the precinct election commissions;

6) ensure the organization of runoffs and repeat elections in the rayon, city, city rayon, settlement, and village, in addition to participating in the organization of a recall of the president and the election of a new president to replace one who has departed;

7) consider statements and complaints about the decisions and actions of the precinct election commissions and makes decisions on them;

8) exercise other powers in accordance with this law.

Article 21. The Organization of Precinct Election Commissions

The precinct election commission is formed no less than 45 days before the elections in a body of 5-13 members.

Representatives to the body of a precinct election commission are nominated by rayon, city (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), city rayon, settlement, and village organs of public organizations, primary party organizations, and laborcollectives located within the territory of a given election precinct, village, or their soviets or collectives among them, specialized and higher educational institutions, organs of the population's amateur activity, residence-based voters' meetings and military unit servicemen's meetings.

Residence-based voters' meetings are convened by the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium at the initiative of no less than 50 voters of the given electoral precinct.

The meeting is empowered to nominate representatives to the body of the precinct election commission if no fewer than 75 voters participate in it.

The decision to nominate representatives to the body of the election commission is considered adopted if no fewer than 50 percent of the meeting participants voted for it.

Precinct election commissions are formed from the number of candidates nominated by rayon, city (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums with consideration for the fundamental social groups of the population.

The authority of the precinct election commissions is considered final after the recognition of the authorities of the Armenian SSR President.

Article 22. The Authority of the Precinct Election Commissions. The Precinct Election Commission:

1) compiles the list of voters in the precinct;

2) familiarizes the voters with the list of voters, accepts and reviews statements concerning irregularities in the list, and resolves issues of introducing the corresponding alterations;

3) issues the voters identification for the right to vote;

4) informs the population of the location of the precinct election commission, the time of its work, and of the election day and voting place;

5) ensures the preparation of premises for voting, and of voting booths and ballot boxes;

6) organizes the voting in the election precinct on election day;

7) conducts the tally of the ballots cast in the election precinct;

8) considers statements and the complaints on issues of preparing for the elections and organizing the voting, and adopts decisions on them;

9) exercises other powers in accordance with this law.

Article 23. Assistance to the Election Commissions in Exercising their Powers

State and public organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials are obligated to assist the election commissions in exercising their powers, granting them the information and materials necessary for their work.

The election commission has the right to address state and public organs, enterprises, organizations, and officials on the issues associated with preparing for and conducting the elections; they are obligated to consider the issue raised and give the election commission a response within 3 days.

Article 24. The Organization of the Work of the Election Commissions

The chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary of the election commission are elected at the first session of the corresponding commission.

The Session of the election commission is competent if no less than two-thirds of the body of the commission participated in it. The commission's decisions are adopted by open balloting by majority vote of the total body of the commission. Commission members not in agreement with its decision have the right to express their particular opinion, which is appended to the minutes in written form and sent to the superior election commission, the corresponding soviet of people's deputies, or its presidium for consideration.

The decisions of the election commissions made within the limits of their authority are binding for execution by all state and public organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

The decisions and actions of the election commission may be appealed to a superior election commission, the corresponding soviet of people's deputies, or its presidium, and in cases specified by this law, to the court as well.

The election commission members, including the chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary may, at the decision of the commission, be released during the period of preparing for and conducting the elections from fulfilling production or employment duties while preserving their average salary at the expense of the resources allocated for holding the elections. The election commission member does not have the right to participate in campaigning for or against a candidate for president.

The election commissions keep a register of official correspondence is kept from the moment of their formation.

Article 25.

The Procedure for the Nomination of Representatives to the Body of the Rayon, City (except in cities with rayon subdivisions), City Rayon, Settlement, and Village Election Commissions and the Introduction of Alterations in Their Composition For the determination of labor collectives, public organizations, collectives of specialized, secondary specialized, and higher academic institutions, residence-based voters' meetings and military unit servicemen's meetings nominating representatives to the body of the commissions, the corresponding soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums may hold meetings of authorized labor collectives, public organizations, labor collectives, public organizations, collectives of specialized, secondary specialized, and higher academic institutions, residence-based voters' meetings and military unit servicemen's meetings situated within the territory of the local soviet, within the borders of the election okrug, or election precinct.

The composition of the election commissions is published for general information.

The chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, or member of the election commission may be released from his duties in the commission by the soviet of people's deputies that formed it, or its presidium, at a personal request, or at the recommendation of a labor collective, organ of a public organization, collective of the specialized, secondary specialized, and higher academic institutions, residence-based voters' meetings and military unit servicemen's meetings that nominated him to the body of the commission. The nomination of a new representative to the election commission is conducted according to the procedure established by this law.

IV. The Lists of Voters

Article 26. The List of Voters and the Procedure for its Compilation

The list of voters is compiled in each election precinct and is signed by the chairman and secretary of the precinct election commission. The precinct election commission may involve representatives of the public to participate in the work of compiling the list.

The executive committees of city, city rayon, settlement, and village soviets of people's deputies ensure the inventory of voters and transfer to the precinct election commissions the information on the voters residing in the corresponding territory essential in the compilation of the lists of voters.

The lists of servicemen-voters located in military units, as well as their family members and other voters residing in the regions of the location of military units are compiled on the basis of the data supplied by the commanders of the military unit. Servicemen living outside of military units are included in the residence-based lists of voters according to their place of residence on a general basis.

The lists of voters of the election precincts formed in sanatoria, rest homes, hospitals and other in-patient treatment facilities are compiled on the basis of data supplied by the managers of the indicated institutions.

The voters' surnames are indicated in the lists of voters in an order convenient for the organization of voting.

Article 27. The Procedure for Including Citizens in the List of Voters

Included in the lists of voters are all citizens who have attained the age of 18 years by or on election day, and are permanent or temporary residents within the territory of the given election precinct at the moment of the list's compilation, and who have the right to participate in the voting.

Article 28. The Citizens' Familiarization with the Lists of Voters and the Right to Appeal Irregularities in the List of Voters

The list of voters is presented for general familiarization 15 days before the elections, and in election precincts formed in sanatoria and rest homes and other in-patient treatment facilities, 2 days before the elections.

Citizens are provided with the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the list of voters and to verify its accuracy in the premises of the precinct election commission.

Every citizen is granted the right to appeal non-inclusion, incorrect inclusion in, or exclusion from the list, as well as inaccuracies permitted in the list in the data on the voter. Declarations of irregularities in the list are reviewed by the precinct election commission, which is obligated to review the statement within 2 days, or on

the eve of the elections, immediately, and to make the necessary corrections in the list or give the petitioner the grounds for the decision to decline his request. This decision may be appealed in the rayon (city) people's court no later than 5 days before the election; the court is obligated to review the complaint within 3 days. The decision of the rayon (city) people's court is final. A correction to the list of voters at the decision of the court is immediately made by the precinct election commission.

Article 29. The Identification for the Right to Vote. The Supplemental List of Voters

If the voter changes his residence during the period between the presentation of the lists of voters for general familiarization and the day of elections, the precinct election commission, at the voter's request and upon presentation of a passport or other document establishing his identity, issues the voter an identification for the right to vote. In doing so, the appropriate notation is made in the list of voters.

On the basis of the identification of the right to vote, the voter is included on election day in a supplemental list of voters at the election precinct for his residence.

A supplemental list of voters in the election precincts is compiled on election day and after the completion of the voting, and is signed by the chairman and secretary of the precinct election commission.

V. The Procedure for the Nomination and Registration of Candidates for Armenian SSR President

Article 30. The Terms of the Nomination of Candidates for Armenian SSR President

The Nomination of candidates for the Armenian SSR President begins no later than 70 days and ends no later than 40 days before elections.

Article 31. The Procedure for Nomination of Candidates for Armenian SSR President

The nomination of candidates for the Armenian SSR President is implemented by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and public organizations at the session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, in the republic organs of public organizations by secret ballot on an alternative basis.

The decision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the public organization on the nomination of a candidate for president is presented to the Central Election Commission within a period of one week.

Article 32. The Registration of Candidates Nominated for Armenian SSR President

The registration of candidates nominated for Armenian SSR President is conducted by the Central Election Commission on the basis of the decisions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the public organizations,

to which is also appended the candidate's consent to be registered as a candidate for Armenian SSR President.

The registration of candidates for Armenian SSR President begins no later than 40 days and ends no later than 30 days before elections.

The nominated candidate for Armenian SSR President is required to present to the Central Election Commission, along with his consent, a statement on the formation of the authority of an Armenian SSR people's deputy, or local soviet people's deputy in the event of his election as Armenian SSR President.

On the basis of the requirements stemming from this law, the Central Election Commission registers the nominated candidate. A decision to reject a registration may be appealed to the people's court within 3 days.

No later than on the 4th day after the decision is handed down, the decision to register a nominated candidate for Armenian SSR President is published in the press with an indication of the candidate's name, patronymic, surname, year of birth, position held (occupation), workplace, and residence.

The common national program for the future activity of the nominated candidate for president is also published in the press along with the Central Election Commission's decision to register the nominated candidate.

The nominated candidate for president cannot be a member of the Central Election Commission, nor of any other election commission. If he is a member of one of these commissions, the nominated candidate for president is considered to be released from the member's responsibilities in these commissions from the moment of his registration.

Article 33. The Invalidation of a Decision on the Nomination of a Candidate for President. A Candidate's Withdrawal of his Candidacy

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the republic organ of a public organization that has nominated a candidate for president may declare its decision to nominate a candidate for president invalid no later than 5 days before the elections. The decision on this issue is made by the procedure specified for the nomination of candidates for president, and is presented to the Central Election Commission.

At any time before the elections, a candidate for president may withdraw his candidacy upon filing a statement to this effect with the Central Election Commission.

Article 34. The Procedure for the Nomination of a New Candidate for President to Replace One Who has Departed

In the event of the departure of a candidate for Armenian SSR President before the termination of the registration period for candidates for president, if no other

candidacies remain, the Central Election Commission proposes to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and republic organs of public organizations that they nominate new candidates for Armenian SSR President. If the candidate for president departs less than one month before the election of the Armenian SSR President, the presidential elections are conducted within a 2-month period.

The nomination of new candidates for president to replace those who have departed is conducted according to the procedure established by this law.

VI. Guarantees of the Activity of the Candidates for Armenian SSR President

Article 35. The Right of Candidates for Armenian SSR President to Speak at Meetings, to Utilize the Mass Information Media, and to Receive Information

Candidates for Armenian SSR President have the right to speak at meetings, rallies, conferences, sessions, in the press, on television and the radio from the moment of their registration.

State and public organs, enterprise, institution, and organization managers, and organs of the population's amateur activity are obligated to assist the candidates for Armenian SSR President in organizing meetings with voters and members of public organizations, and in receiving the necessary informational materials.

Article 36. The Pre-election Program of the Candidate for Armenian SSR President

The candidate for Armenian SSR President advocates a common national program of his future activity. The candidate's program must not be aimed at the violent alteration of the foundations of the state and public structure of the Armenian SSR, contain propaganda of war, appeals for national enmity, or be directed toward the limitation of citizens' constitutional rights.

Article 37. The Proxies of the Candidate for Armenian SSR President

The candidate for Armenian SSR President may have up to 15 proxies, who assist him in conducting his election campaign, agitate for the candidate's election as president, represent his interests in mutual relations with state and public organs, voters, and the Central Election Commission as well.

A candidate for president determines proxies at his discretion and informs the Central Election Commission of them for registration. After the registration of the proxies, the Central Election Commission issues them identification. Both the candidate for president and his proxy or proxies may refuse mutual obligations. The candidate for president informs the election commission of the registration of a new proxy or proxies and of the invalidation of a previous registration.

After his registration, at the request of the candidate for president, the proxy may be released from fulfilling production or employment responsibilities while preserving his average workplace salary for the period of the pre-election measures associated with the elections.

The expenses enterprises, institutions, or organizations borne in connection with this are recompensed at their request from the resources allocated for conducting the elections.

A proxy must not belong to the Central Election Commission.

Article 38. Pre-election Campaigning

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and public organizations that have nominated candidates for president, and the proxies of the candidates for president are granted the right to unhindered campaigning for their candidates.

The Central Election Commission grants public organizations equipped premises, other locations, and conditions for meetings and rallies, as well as mass information resources for conducting pre-election campaigning.

Citizens of the Armenian SSR, labor collectives, public organizations, collectives of collectives of specialized, secondary specialized, and higher academic institutions, and residence-based voters' meetings are guaranteed the opportunity for free and comprehensive discussion of the presidential candidates' political, business, and personal qualities, as well as the right to campaign for or against candidates at meetings, rallies, in the press, on television, and radio.

Candidates for Armenian SSR President hold encounters with voters both at meetings, and in other forms convenient for the voters. Voters' meetings are organized by the Central election commission in conjunction with the corresponding soviet of people's deputies or its presidium and public organizations.

Voters are informed in advance of the time and location of meetings and encounters.

Campaigning on election day is not permitted.

Article 39. The Release of a Candidate for Armenian SSR President from Production or Employment Responsibilities in Order to Participate in Pre-election Measures

After his registration, a candidate for Armenian SSR President is released from production or employment responsibilities for the time of holding encounters with the voters, speaking at meetings and rallies, on television and radio while preserving his average salary at the expense of resources allocated for conducting the elections.

Article 40. The Right of a Candidate for Armenian SSR President to Free Transportation

After registration, a candidate for Armenian SSR President has the right to free transportation on all forms of passenger transport (with the exception of taxis) within the republic.

Article 41. The Immunity of the Candidate for Armenian SSR President

A candidate for Armenian SSR President cannot have criminal charges brought against him, be arrested, subjected to administrative punishment or court proceedings without the consent of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

VII. The Procedure for Voting and Tallying the Election Results

Article 42. The Time and Location of the Voting

For the election of the Armenian SSR President, voting is conducted on election day from 7 am until 8 pm local time. The precinct election commission informs the voters of the time and location of the voting no later than 10 days before the elections.

In election precincts formed in remote and inaccessible regions, the precinct election commission may declare the voting to be completed at any time if all the voters included in the lists have voted.

Article 43. The Organization of Voting

The voting is conducted in specially reserved premises in which there must be installed a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret balloting; places for issuing ballots must be defined, and ballot boxes set up. Ballot boxes are set up in such a manner as necessitates the voters' passage by the booths or rooms for secret balloting during their approach to them.

The precinct election commission bears responsibility for organizing the voting, ensuring the secret expression of the voters' will, equipping the premises and supporting the necessary order in them.

On election day, before the start of the voting, the ballot boxes are verified, and sealed or stamped by the chairman of the precinct election commission in the presence of all commission members.

Each voter casts his ballot personally. Voting for other persons is not permitted. The appropriate election commission issues the election ballots on the basis of the election precinct list of voters, and the identification for the right to vote upon presentation of the passport or other proof of identity. Upon receipt of an election ballot, the voter places his signature on the list of voters, which is hung out for general information.

In cases where individual voters cannot come to the premises because of their health or other reasons, the precinct election commission at their request directs

individual members of the election commission to organize voting in these voters' place of residence according to a separate list. No fewer than two commission members participate in organizing this voting.

Article 44. Conducting the Voting

The election ballot is filled out by the voter in the booth or room for secret balloting. The presence while completing the ballot of anyone whatsoever other than the voter is forbidden. The voter who does not have the means to complete the ballot independently has the right to invite another person, not including election commission members, into the booth or room at his discretion.

For the elections of the Armenian SSR President, the voter crosses off the ballot the surname of the candidates against whom he is voting, and in the event that there is one candidate, one of the words across from his surname is crossed off, "agree," or "disagree."

The voter drops the completed election ballot in the ballot box.

Article 45. The Ballot Tally at the Election Precinct

In the elections of the Armenian SSR President, the ballot tally at the election precinct is conducted separately for each candidate.

Before the opening of the ballot boxes, all unused election ballots are counted and nullified by the election commission, a record of which is made. The ballot boxes are opened by the precinct election commission after the commission chairman announces the close of the voting. The opening of the ballot boxes before the end of the voting is forbidden.

The precinct election commission establishes the total number of voters, as well as the number of voters who received ballots on the basis of the main and supplemental lists of voters. On the basis of the ballots located in the ballot boxes, the commission establishes the total number of voters who participated in the voting, the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate for president, and the number of ballots invalidated. Votes for citizens whose surnames are written in as additions by the voters are not tallied.

Non-standard election ballots and those in which more than one candidate has been left are invalidated, and in the event that there is one candidate, if one of the words "disagree" or "agree" is not crossed off. If there arises doubt about the validity of election ballots, the issue is resolved by the precinct election commission by means of a vote.

Ballots in which all the surnames of candidates are crossed off are considered at a session of the precinct election commission and entered into the minutes compiled by the precinct election commission. The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary,

and members of the commission and are sent to the Central Election Commission by the procedure established by it.

Article 46. The Determination of Election Results

On the basis of the minutes of the precinct election commissions, the Central Election Commission determines: the total number of voters who received ballots; the number of voters who participated in the voting; the number of votes cast for and the number of votes cast against each candidate for president, and the number of ballots invalidated. Votes for the surnames of citizens written in on the ballot by the voters are not tallied.

The candidate for Armenian SSR President who received more than one-half of the votes of the voters who participated in the polling is considered elected.

The Central Election Commission voids the elections if during the course of the elections such violations of this law took place as would significantly affect the election results.

The elections are nullified if fewer than one-half of the votes on the list of voters participated in the elections, and in connection with the death of the candidate for president, if one candidate had been registered.

The election results for the election precinct are established at a session of the precinct election commission and are entered into the minutes. The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission, and are sent to the Central election commission in the procedure established by it.

VIII. The Procedure for Tallying and Publishing the Armenian SSR Presidential Election Results

Article 47. The Registration of the Armenian SSR President

On the basis of the minutes of the precinct election commissions coming in to it, the Central election commission registers the elected Armenian SSR President.

The Central election commission voids the elections and refuses to register an Armenian SSR President if during the course of the elections or the tally of votes or the determination of the election results such violations of this law were permitted as would significantly affect the election results.

Article 48. The Publication of the Armenian SSR Presidential Election Results

The Central Election Commission publishes in the press a report on the election results and information on the elected Armenian SSR President within a 10-day period, with the indication of surname, name, patronymic, position held (occupation), party membership, place of work and residence of the president.

The Central Election Commission issues the appropriate identification to the elected president.

IX. Runoffs and Repeat Elections of the Armenian SSR President to Replace One Who has Departed

Article 49.

If more than two candidates for Armenian SSR President were on the ballot and no one of them was elected, the Central Election Commission decides on conducting a runoff with the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes. The Central Election Commission informs the republic voters of this decision. Runoffs are conducted no later than within a 2-week period with the observance of the requirements of this law.

The candidate for Armenian SSR President who received more than one-half of the votes of the voters who participated in the elections is considered elected.

A runoff is nullified if fewer than one-half of the voters on the list of voters participated in it.

In the event that one of the candidates for president departs before election day while a runoff is being conducted, the Central Election Commission conducts voting with the remaining candidate for president. A candidate for president is considered elected if he received more than one-half of the votes of the voters who participated in the polling.

Article 50. Repeat Elections

If no more than two candidates for Armenian SSR President were on the ballot and neither of them was elected or if the elections were nullified or voided, or the runoff did not allow an elected president to be determined, the Central Election Commission organizes repeat elections. The voting is conducted at the same election precinct and according to the same lists of voters compiled for conducting the general elections.

Repeat elections are conducted no later than within a 2-month period after the general elections. Registration of candidates for president and other measures are conducted by the procedure established by this law.

Persons who did not gather the necessary number of votes in the general elections may not be on the ballot once more.

Article 51. Conducting Armenian SSR Presidential Elections to Replace One Who has Departed

The Armenian SSR President may be removed from office only by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in the case of violation of the Armenian SSR Constitution and Armenian SSR laws. Such a decision is made by no less than two-thirds of the votes of the total number of Armenian SSR people's deputies at the initiative of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, with consideration for the conclusion of the Armenian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

If for one reason or another, the Armenian SSR President cannot execute his duties, his authority, up to the

election of a new president, is transferred to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and if this is impossible, to the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

In the event of a recall of the Armenian SSR President or the premature cessation of his authorities for other reasons, new elections are conducted within a 3-month period of this moment.

Elections of a new Armenian SSR President are designated by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The elections are organized in accordance with the requirements of this law.

Official Views Armenian Election Campaign

90US0978A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
13 May 90 p 2

[Report on interview with R. Kandayan, secretary of the Armenian Central Election Commission, by KOMMUNIST correspondent M. Grigoryan; date and place not given; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction: "The Choice Before the Elections"]

[Text] We are awaiting 20 May—one of the most important dates in the republic's sociopolitical calendar this year. We are to elect the parliamentarians. People capable of worthily representing and defending the interests of the people in the republic Supreme Soviet. The future parliament is not to be envied—so many complicated issues will be on the agenda for its work, so much in the destiny of our nation will depend on its decisions. And indeed, the situation in the republic, complex and tense and in many ways contradictory, in no way lends itself to calm parliamentary activity.

The recently published report of the Central Election Commission, which summed up the results of the registration of candidates for the posts of Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies, paints, as it were, a numerical social portrait of the future parliament. One indicator in particular catches the attention: "An average of six contenders were registered for each district in the republic." This means that the voters have expressed themselves firmly in favor of contested elections.

How is the present election campaign proceeding, what are its most typical and characteristic features? These and other questions posed by a KOMMUNIST correspondent are answered by the secretary of the Central Election Commission, R. Kandayan.

[Kandayan] Two of the main stages are now behind us; namely, the nomination of candidates and their registration by the district commissions. We are now in the decisive phase of the election struggle that will end on the day before the elections—19 May.

What do I see that distinguishes the present elections from previous elections? First of all, in their democratic nature and in the fact that they are contested, and, if you

will, in their unpredictability. Whereas previously those nominated as candidates could feel that they had already been elected, now virtually none of them has this guarantee of success. The entire course of the election campaign convinces us that the fight for a seat in the parliament is unusually keen and tense. The form of nominating candidates through civic initiative is new for us, and has become widespread. If I am not mistaken, this has still only been done here in our republic and in Estonia. I shall not dwell on its costs, but say only that about 500 candidates—that is, about one-third—were nominated at the initiative of citizens.

We should not forget that we have passed a new law on elections, and that the present campaign is being waged in accordance with this law. It creates certain difficulties, particularly for the district election commissions. Thus, until very recently we had to deal with conflict situations that had arisen in a number of districts.

[Correspondent] Can you comment on the Central Election Commission report, please? In this case the figures provide quite an interesting picture of the makeup of the candidates.

[Kandayan] Indeed, the figures are very eloquent. A total of 1,511 candidates were registered in 259 districts. This is an average of six per district, but in the city districts the number was greater. Thus, the largest number of candidates, 14, was registered in district No. 127 in Echmiadzin city, and 13 were registered in some others.

The opinion was current that a considerable proportion of the candidates will represent the party and soviet apparatus. It can now be stated that this supposition has not been confirmed. Let us look at the figures. Workers in the party and soviet organs make up 7.2 percent and nine percent, respectively, of the total number of candidates. For comparison, in 1985 they made up 40 percent of the body of deputies.

The candidates include 234 candidates of science, 49 professors, 20 doctors, and five academicians. Thus, the number of representatives of the intelligentsia has increased significantly. Some 751 people—that is, half of those nominated—are inhabitants of Yerevan, while 14 live outside the republic. I would note that those nominated include few workers, women, or young people. Nevertheless, it can already be stated with confidence today that the main result of the present election campaign is the opportunity for wide choice among the candidates.

During the process of registration about 50 people were eliminated because the requirements of the law were not complied with in their nomination and registration.

[Correspondent] You talked about conflict situations that required the intervention of your commission. What was that about?

[Kandayan] The new law, which altered the sociopolitical situation in the republic and people's political

activeness, conditioned things so that very stepped-up work was required from the Central Election Commission.

The basic principle that we pursue is to make everything so the district election commissions can operate as actively as possible and with as much initiative as possible. They now have great power, and the corresponding obligations. With the best will in the world the Central Election Commission made up of 23 people (and now only 20 because three peoples were nominated as candidates) cannot resolve all the problems. The members of our commission conducted a series of seminars for the district commission, traveling out with lawyers to the various regions of the republic.

Unfortunately, however, there were many cases in which the district commissions, reluctant to inquire too deeply into the essence of problems that arose, shifted them onto our commission. This occurred in Kirovokan, Artike, and Echmiadzin. Let me note that the overwhelming majority of complaints were sent to us in connection with nominations at citizen initiative.

Let me cite a case that occurred in Artike. The district commission gave the sponsors a blank form to collect signatures for their candidate. Virtually nothing was stated about the candidate except his name, and on the second page the sponsors collected more than 200 signatures. For what had those people signed? For there were several people who had the same name. Such basic ignorance of the requirements of the law by the district election commission, not to mention the sponsors, led to a situation in which the person was not registered as a candidate.

In a number of cases, when signatures were being collected by a citizen initiative, the same person would sign for himself and for his spouse and his children, who were often under age, and for his relatives. In order to avoid this we offered appropriate recommendations to the district commissions so that the provisions of the law could be uniformly interpreted. This evoked a somewhat negative reaction: It was alleged that we exceeding our powers. But practice has shown that the Central Election Commission was right. If there had not been this very strict control by the election commission then today we would be dealing with a very serious problem. Judge for yourself: 500 people were nominated through citizen initiative. If we take the minimum number of signatures as 200, then that means that it would have been necessary to check the signatures of at least 10,000 people!

In my opinion we must provide legislative underpinning for the right of the district commission to monitor the

collection of signatures. For it is they that are responsible for compliance with the law in their own territories.

There is another difficulty associated with the time periods. We are hampered by this all the time. Less than a month was allocated for the election campaign to deal with more than 1,511 candidates. Incidentally, this may also be the subject of amendments and changes to the law on elections.

[Correspondent] Contested elections certainly represent one step toward democratization in society. But how does the voter orient himself to such a diverse picture? For essentially we do not know how to choose, and indeed for us the very concept of an election struggle is somewhat incomprehensible and unusual for us.

[Kandayan] To help the voters choose a worthy deputy meetings with candidates are convened at places of residence. These meetings are held both with a single candidate and with all the candidates (for that district, of course) at once so that the voters can assess the worthiness of each one on a competitive basis. The candidates present their election platforms, essentially the program for their future parliamentary activity. Agents—there can be up to 10 of these—engage in agitation work. The gatherings and meetings of candidates and voters are organized by the district election commissions. The voters should also be informed about them beforehand.

Previously, before the elections candidates printed their own programs and biographies. Now this is the prerogative of the district election commissions, which insure equal conditions for all candidates. However, we are receiving signals that these conditions are not being observed everywhere and that, unfortunately, they are not being properly assessed by the commissions.

[Correspondent] One week is left to the elections. What must the Central Election Commission do during this time?

[Kandayan] The main task is to insure that the district commissions act in accordance with the law on elections. Let me say that the Central Election Commission will now work for five years with its present makeup, until the next elections.

The results of the registration show that we have virtually no uncontested elections. Life itself has led to a situation in which at one session it was proposed that this be underpinned legislatively. So the choice has already been made. Now we must elect the most worthy for the republic parliament. Deputies who will defend not only the interests of their electors and their own region, but who will be able to resolve skillfully the numerous very complicated issues that face the republic and the Armenian people today.

Azerbaijan Communist Party on Restoring Order in Baku

90US0918A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
26 Apr 90 p 1

[Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee statement]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee plenum held this March, the Central Committee is implementing decisive measures to normalize the social and political situation in the republic, consolidate all healthy forces on the paths of perestroyka, and surmount the serious lags in social and economic development. Members of the Central Committee Buro and the leaders of party committees locally are visiting the labor collectives increasingly often, studying people's opinion, correcting their activity and channeling efforts toward the removal of the serious impediments hampering the working people's normal life.

A number of such problems were examined by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Socioeconomic Development Commission.

Specifically, the situation which has taken shape in Baku was examined with the participation of the commandant of the city of Baku, the leaders of the Baku Gorkom [City Party Committee] and City Soviet Ispolkom [Executive Committee], the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the State Committee for Work With Persons Who Have Abandoned Their Permanent Place of Residence.

The situation testifies that the local party and soviet authorities and the police are failing to perform their direct duties on matters of bringing order to bear in respect of persons' relocation, regulation of the ID system, residence permits, real assistance to refugees, and the ascertainment of parasites and criminal elements. The vicious practice of a large number of people arriving in Baku from outside unhindered, not only refugees, what is more, who, in circumvention of the law, are acquiring shelter and residence permits and snapping up apartments, has come about.

Certain leaders are explaining these disorders by the presence in Baku of refugees, thereby covering up their inactivity. Yet, according to information of the Baku City Commandant's Office, only one third of the persons residing in the city without residence permits are refugees. Of the total number of apartments which have been snapped up, only 40 percent have gone to refugees.

For due order to be brought to bear in Baku it is recommended that the leadership of the city increase responsibility for strict compliance with the ID requirements and housing legislation. It is instructed, in conjunction with the republic's MVD, to organize a thorough check of the persons arriving in Baku.

At the same time, however, it is necessary to look deeply into the troubles of the immigrants, solve their problems in a professional manner and concentrate the efforts of

the entire republic on providing the refugees with shelter as quickly as possible. The State Committee for Work With Persons Who Have Abandoned Their Permanent Place of Residence is instructed to submit specific proposals pertaining to the settlement of refugees in various regions of the republic, their opinions, professional skills and the possibilities of the regions being taken into account. A corresponding instruction is given simultaneously for the preparation of proposals pertaining to the accelerated planning and construction in these areas of individual apartment houses with attached plots and social amenities and the creation of jobs for them.

A subject of particular attention was the question of a stimulation of the construction of housing and social amenities in the villages of the NKAO [Nagornyy Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. For the practical solution of these questions the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee commission had formed working groups, with the participation of officials of the Central Committee apparatus and leaders of ministries and departments, to study the situation and render practical assistance locally. One such group, with the participation of the party and soviet authorities of Agdamskiy and Shushinskiy Rayons, examined in detail the situation concerning provision of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the NKAO with building materials. The mass delivery to the inhabitants of the localities of Khodzhal, Amiranlar, Malybeyli, Garadagly, Muganly, Khodzhavent and others of stone and bricks, cement, roofing shingles, and other building materials was quickly organized. A system of further supply was worked out, a timetable for the shipment drawn up, those responsible for its realization were determined and supervision of its fulfillment was established. Special stores for the sale of these materials are being set up by the Azeritifik [Azerbaijan Consumers' Cooperative Society] in 10 villages of the NKAO for people's convenience. The population has greeted these measures with satisfaction.

The situation in capital construction was examined with the participation of leaders of the republic's construction complex, the State Planning Committee, the State Construction Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, and the banks, specialists, and scientists.

Fundamental changes are due in the sector. The imperfections in the management structure of capital construction, indecision in the renewal of production relations, serious deformations in the investment process, planning, and the financing of capital investments, and the blunders perpetrated recently in the selection and assignment of personnel have begun to hold back the sector's progress appreciably and have led to serious breakdowns in all areas of the republic's social and economic development.

The leaders were instructed to ponder all these questions in depth in the work force and submit specific proposals pertaining to radical changes in capital construction to be examined by the Central Committee Socioeconomic Development Commission for the purpose of formulating recommendations and realizing them in practical activity.

Questions of a stimulation of foreign economic activity were studied also. On the threshold of the republic's transition to financial autonomy and self-financing and

also the functioning of the economy under the conditions of a controlled market economy a most important direction of enterprise and organization activity should be the expansion and improvement of mutually profitable cooperation with foreign countries, the establishment of direct production and scientific and technical relations with foreign companies, increased exports, and the increased competitiveness of the manufactured product. There is now an urgent need in this connection for a revision of the structure of management of foreign economic activity and the creation of a single coordinating center endowed with all the necessary authority.

It was recommended that the leaders of enterprises and organizations involved in foreign economic activity study the questions that have been raised and submit specific proposals pertaining to the formulation of a concept of the further development of foreign economic relations, an improvement in the management structure, an increase in the efficiency of the activity of organizations moving onto the foreign market and the training of qualified specialists in this field.

Azerbaijan Communist Party Blames Officials For Crisis

90US0917A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
27 Apr 90 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee considered on 10 March 1990 the issue "On Serious Shortcomings in the Operation of the Party, Soviet, Economic, and Law-Enforcement Organs of the Republic Which Have Brought About a Political Crisis and Destabilization of the Economy of Azerbaijan," a rendering of which was expected to be published. Taking into account the fact that a plenum of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee held on 31 March 1990 analyzed the causes of the existing critical situation and discussed the tasks of party organizations associated with the normalization of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, only the enactment segment of the resolution in question is published in the press.

In the resolution adopted, Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro acknowledged the operation of party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs of the republic, which failed to prevent the political crisis and the destabilization of the economy of Azerbaijan, mass disturbances, and the death of people, to be unsatisfactory.

It was noted that responsibility for the acts of vandalism committed, pogroms, disturbances, and the destabilization of the situation in many cities, rayons, and the capital of the republic devolves on the extremist, nationalist elements whose inflammatory actions brought about the tragic events of January 1990 and the death of innocent people.

It was acknowledged that the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 5 March 1990 "On the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Armenian SSR and Measures for Normalizing the Situation in the Region" charged the USSR Procuracy, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR Committee for State Security with ensuring within the shortest time period possible, together with the law enforcement organs of Azerbaijan, taking into account the conclusions of the commission of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, the investigation of all cases of crimes and unlawful activities which occurred in January 1990.

It was acknowledged that by a decision of the Baku Communist Party of Azerbaijan Committee, Comrade M.R. Mamedov, first secretary of the city party committee, was dismissed from his position.

Communist A.M. Golubev, second secretary of the Baku Party Gorkom [City Committee], and CPSU member S.Ch. Kasumova, secretary of the party gorkom, were severely reprimanded for the poor standard of organizational and political work, the absence of a vigorous and aggressive position, and failure to take effective measures aimed at putting an end to unlawful actions and increasing the role of party committees and primary party organizations in normalizing the situation in the city.

Serious shortcomings in operations, gross violations of the housing legislation and residence-permit practices, and lack of accountability of the leaders of ispolkoms [executive committees] of the rayon soviets of people's deputies were pointed out to Communist N.K. Karakashly, ispolkom chairman of the Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies. A request by Comrade N.K. Karakashly to relieve him of the position held due to the condition of his health was acknowledged.

It was acknowledged that retaining Comrade N.A. Kerimov, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration of the Baku City Ispolkom, in his post is infeasible due to serious shortcomings in ensuring public order, loss of the attitude of responsibility, uncritical assessment of his activities, and his failure to take efficient measures in order to prevent and bring to an end mass disturbances which brought about tragic consequences in the city of Baku. He was severely reprimanded with an entry made in his CPSU member file.

V.P. Barannikov, first deputy minister of internal affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, and Deputy Internal Affairs Ministers N.I. Yusifov, R.Kh. Mamedov, and A.B. Rafiyev were reprimanded for shortcomings in work on ensuring public order and stepping up the fight against crime.

Chief of the Political Department of the Azerbaijan SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] E.A. Khasmamedov was severely reprimanded for serious shortcomings in the organization of party and political work with the personnel and the unsatisfactory condition of morale

and the political climate in a number of militia collectives which brought about incidences of faint-heartedness and cowardice during the mass disturbances.

Serious shortcomings and failures in the organization of ideological and indoctrination work, failure to ensure the vanguard role of the Communists, and weakening the influence of the party on accomplishing operations and service tasks were severely pointed out to Comrade Z.F. Dzhaferov, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR MVD party committee.

It was requested that the republic MVD immediately take measures to reinforce the personnel of the internal affairs organs with professionally trained and morally pure cadres.

The attention of Comrade V.A. Guseynov, Azerbaijan SSR KGB chairman, was invited to the need to take urgent measures to reinforce the state security organs with professionally trained and politically mature people, and to resolutely get rid of the employees who have besmirched themselves.

It was acknowledged that retaining Communist F.K. Rustamov in his position of minister of motor vehicle transportation of the Azerbaijan SSR is infeasible due to serious shortcomings in transportation services to the populace, a sharp decline in order and discipline, and the lack of due accountability of economic managers.

Serious shortcomings in the operation of communications facilities, the weakening of labor and production discipline, and failure to take efficient measures aimed at improving services to the populace were pointed out to Communist B.M. Akhundov, Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Communications. A request by Comrade B.M. Akhundov to relieve him of his responsibilities in conjunction with the condition of his health was acknowledged.

A severe warning was issued to Communist A.Yu. Karakhanov, general director of the Azneftemash Scientific Production Association, on account of poor organizational work at the enterprises reporting to him and the weakening of discipline and order in production. It was requested that he take effective measures in order to make up for the lag which was allowed to occur, increase the accountability of economic managers, and ensure the stable operation of the association.

The unsatisfactory work of Communist D.Kh. Mamedov, chief of the Kaspneftegazflot Administration, on reinforcing discipline in the labor collectives reporting to him and putting production in due order was noted. It was requested that he take measures to reinforce political and indoctrination work, improve the selection and assignment of cadres, and increase the responsibility of managers at all levels for the section entrusted to them.

The work of the Lenkoran and Sheki Gorkoms and the Agdamskiy, Agdzhahedinskiy, Apsheronskiy, Akhsuinskiy, Bardinskiy, Dzhalilabadskiy, Sabirabadskiy, and Khanlarskiy Raykoms [rayon committees] of the party in their capacity as providers of political leadership was found to be unsatisfactory. They were charged with taking urgent measures in order to eliminate shortcomings and increase the authority and role of primary party organizations in normalizing the situation, accomplishing socioeconomic tasks, and meeting the urgent needs of workers.

A poor standard of political work by the Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work, and the Ideological, Socioeconomic, and State-Legal Departments was noted. It was requested that they ensure the assertion of political methods of leadership, the reinforcement of influence on party committees, primary party organizations, ideological establishments, the mass information and propaganda media, enhance intraparty democracy and glasnost, and delineate the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs, accomplishing the tasks of perestroika on this basis through Communists in the republic and public structures.

The Socioeconomic and Agrarian Departments of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee were charged with preparing and submitting for Central Committee Bureau consideration the issue of the state of affairs in the republic national economy and measures for overcoming the crisis situation in it and making up for the lag that was allowed to occur.

It was suggested that the Nakhichevan Obkom [oblast committee], the Baku Gorkom, and the party raykoms consider the party responsibility of the functionaries of party apparatuses, Communist managers, and secretaries of primary party organizations who have deviated from party principles, have taken an incorrect position during the events under way in the republic, and have facilitated the exacerbation of such events by their actions.

The party committees and primary party organizations were charged with enhancing the standard of work on admissions to the party and reinforcing party ranks, handling every case of turning in party membership cards attentively and taking specific circumstances into account, and getting rid of ballast in the party, while at the same time preventing haste and a superficial approach to considering these issues.

The obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party should resolutely renew the methods of party work, abandon the command-administrative approach and supplanting soviet and economic organs, play their role effectively in the new environment taking into account the processes under way and the tasks of perestroika, and ensure the profound democratization of intraparty life so that all Communists and primary party organization are given an actual rather than verbal opportunity to really influence policy development and participate vigorously in

democratic processes. It is necessary to engage everywhere in a struggle to reinforce discipline, order, and organization, strictly observe Soviet laws, and rally and consolidate all healthy forces to fight to stabilize the situation and resolutely carry out the planned reforms.

Taking into account as much as possible the national factor, national peculiarities, language, socioeconomic, and spiritual interests of all peoples living in the republic, the reinforcement of safeguards against infringements on the rights of citizens by virtue of their ethnicity should be ensured in the entirety of organizational-political, ideological, and cadre work. The obstruction of fundamental values formed in the years of soviet power by the problems and difficulties of the present should be prevented.

The Central Committee departments and party committees should seek a fundamental change in the cadre policy, resolutely get rid of certain people, of leaders who verbally advocate perestroika but actually come out against it, nominate to positions of responsibility young, vigorous, and competent functionaries, the real leaders of perestroika who enjoy authority among the people, help them accomplish the set tasks and resolve cadre issues, and study and take into account public opinion. They should continuously seek improvements in the qualitative composition of elected party organs and enhance their role and responsibility for the state of affairs in party organizations. It was proposed to hold a sociopolitical certification of Communists in April-June of this year.

Leaders of the Ministry of People's Education (Comrade R.B. Feyzullayev), the Academy of Sciences (Comrade E.Yu. Salayev), scientific establishments and colleges, and secretaries of the party organizations should take specific measures to establish due order in their collectives and create in them a working, truly creative environment. Measures should be taken to reinforce the leadership of the most significant segments of scientific and scientific-teaching activities.

It was acknowledged that the leadership of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the "Kommunist" Publishing House has been reinforced, and that measures are being taken to improve work and enhance its efficiency in a number of editorial offices of republic newspapers. The attention of the leaders of the mass media was invited to the need to qualitatively enhance the ideological content of publications and broadcasts, to inform the public opinion of the populace correctly and objectively, and to approach the coverage of issues related to interethnic relations responsibly. Newspaper articles, TV, and radio broadcasts should impart to the people confidence in the future, should rally the healthy forces of society, promote the stabilization of the situation and reinforcement of discipline and order.

The gorkoms and raykoms of the party were instructed to reinforce the leadership of the editorial boards of the

local press, increase its responsibility for the materials published, and exercise effective party guidance of the press organs.

It was suggested that creative-arts unions (Comrades A.R. Rzayev, T.A. Kuliyeu, A.G. Aliyev, F.K. Kalilov, L.M. Imanov, F.Sh. Badalbeyli, B.A. Nabiyeu, R.M. Guseynov, M.A. Useynov, and K.A. Khalilov) and the organs of culture (Comrade Polad Byul-Byul Ogly) apply their creative quest and public activities to asserting ethical values and consolidating the forces of society by carefully preserving and multiplying the spiritual wealth of the nation, and allow broad masses of workers and the younger generation to partake of the best products of national and world culture.

The party organizations of the creative-arts unions and cultural establishments should make a principled assessment of the actions of Communists during the January days and ensure in all creative collectives a healthy moral and ethical climate which is in line with current requirements.

The Procuracy, the MVD, the KGB, the Supreme Court, and the Ministry of Justice of the republic should take radical measures to reinforce the rule of socialist law and legal order, and bring to an end in a timely and resolute manner the actions of individuals grossly violating the established legal order, disrupting the work of transportation, enterprises, offices, organizations, and educational establishments, as well as those infringing on the honor and dignity of citizens and officials.

The need to increase the personal responsibility of employees of law enforcement organs for maintaining public order was pointed out. Their inaction and failure to apply measures envisaged in the law to violators of the law and instigators of disturbances should be viewed as failure to carry out the responsibilities of their service, which is incompatible with further work in these organs.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro noted the importance of the development of the sociopolitical activity of workers and the participation of public organizations and movements in discussing and resolving current, urgent issues of the political, socioeconomic, and spiritual-ideological life of the republic; it believes that a constructive dialogue is necessary with all social organizations and healthy forces interested in normalizing the situation in the republic. The further enhancement of the activities of public entities should proceed on the basis of laws and constitutional norms and respect for the legal order; it should reflect the fundamental interests of workers.

Report on Georgian CP Congress

90US0959A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 18 May 90 p 1

[Report by Correspondent N. Kvizhinadze: "At the Crossroads"]

[Text] Tbilisi—I have in my time seen enough pompous, hot-air congresses, when the wish was shamelessly passed off as reality. There was nothing of the sort at the

28th Georgian Communist Party Congress held 15-16 May in Tbilisi—neither general unanimity nor "prolonged applause developing into an ovation" and costly gifts for the delegates, which were obligatory in former times. And of the delegates themselves, only half as many as usual were elected on this occasion.

Times have changed. Too many acute problems have accumulated in the republic, too many serious issues had to be discussed at this congress. And the main one—what kind of Georgian Communist Party would result? Would the former one remain, trampling each and everything beneath it, or would this be a party of radical renewal seeking power in honest political struggle.

I recall a recent conversation with G. Gachechiladze, a lathe hand at the Tbilisi Electric Car-Repair Plant and congress delegate. "Some things need to be changed in earnest," he told me. "The party's authority has declined, and people are handing in their party cards. Why? Because we have no standpoint today. A real political struggle is under way in Georgia, and more than 100 informal public organizations, currents, and groups are operating very actively as yet. But it is not the Communists who are calling the tune in this struggle. I have the impression that they have distanced themselves from any political activity and have opted for wait-and-see tactics. This 'line of behavior' is not adding to their authority."

Sharp words, but one has to agree.

...And so to the congress. Clearly, its main task is defining a position, formulating a clear-cut standpoint, and unequivocally answering a question which already, perhaps, sets the teeth on edge, but which is most urgent: What is to be done?

"It is essential," G. Gumbardze, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, emphasized in the political report, "to elaborate principles on the basis of genuine pluralism and a balance of social interests which ensure the integrity of the Communist Party, unite and rally its ranks, and make it possible to avoid a split. A scattering of forces and opposition cannot be allowed. This would be the severest blow to democratization, perestroika, and the integrity of the republic."

The question of the unity of the republic party organization is central. The speaker returned to this idea time and again, and the majority of those who spoke in the debate discussed it likewise. The factors which had caused the present exacerbation of the situation were analyzed also. It was stated plainly: Constructive dialogue between the party and society has yet to be established.

There is a manifest gap between the style and methods of political leadership and life's new realities. This gap did not emerge just today. Many party leaders interpreted in an extremely one-sided and, at times, biased manner the protest actions, mass meetings, and demonstrations which were staged during discussion of the draft changes

and additions to the USSR Constitution. Some people considered all this a manifestation of extremism and nationalism. Yet it was something else entirely—the people's dissatisfaction with the idling of perestroika in the republic. Instead of dialogue, they attempted to cut short the mass meetings and demonstrations at any price and declare a monopoly on criticism and self-criticism and the choice of forms of development of democracy. Arbitrary pressure on all "unsanctioned" manifestations of thought and feeling increased. And as a result they grew increasingly far apart from the democratic public. The tragic result of this policy was 9 April 1989. It is bitter acknowledging all this. But without this—without a cleansing by truth—there is no future.

Yes, some promising steps have been taken. In the course of the preparations for the present congress the republic Communist Party presented a comprehensively formulated concept of national development, whose purpose is the consolidation of all healthy forces of society. Its basic propositions take account of the interests of all nations and nationalities living in Georgia, problems of language and history, and the republic's achievement of real national-state sovereignty. But the main question up to yesterday still remained unsolved: For which path would the Georgian Communist Party opt, for what would it fight?

The Central Committee presented to the congress the draft "Basic Propositions of the Program and Organizational Composition of the Georgian Communist Party." It is essentially a definition of the status of the party under the new conditions. Running ahead somewhat, we would note that the document proposed by the Central Committee was approved and will be submitted for extensive discussion in the republic's party organizations.

What is deemed to be of paramount importance? First, the Georgian Communist Party is seen as an independent political organization of citizens of Georgia who have united voluntarily for the building of a humane democratic society, in which the priority of human rights and the supremacy of interests common to all the people are actually assured. It operates on the basis of its own program documents within the framework of the Georgian Constitution. Second, the relations between the Georgian Communist Party with the communist parties of other republics are constructed on the principles of equal cooperation, and it establishes independently its relations with progressive parties both in the republic and outside. Third and, perhaps, chiefly: The Georgian Communist Party considers restoration of Georgia's complete state independence to be a most important condition of the realization of its program goals.

The Lithuanian version, consequently? No. The question of the Georgian Communist Party's secession from

the CPSU was not posed directly. Nor is it reflected in the draft approved by the congress. This document, incidentally, which will determine the program and composition of the Georgian Communist Party, contains no mention of the CPSU. How is this to be understood? And one further point of considerable importance: It was decided to suspend the congress and continue it after the 28th CPSU Congress. And this decision was adopted in good time, what is more. Indecisiveness? The absence of that same standpoint to which late G. Gachechiladze referred?

"As the saying is," USSR People's Deputy V. Advadze, who was elected here delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, shared with me, "you don't get two bites at the cherry. In my view, we should have fixed our position today."

They did not. In principle the outcome was the election of 98 delegates to the CPSU congress. As for everything else—at the crossroads again.

Georgian Delegates Review Tbilisi Congress

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Second Edition p 5

[Discussion with delegates of the Communist Party of Georgia to the 28th CPSU Congress, by PRAVDA special correspondents N. Kozhanov and G. Lebanidze: "Confidence of the People"]

[Text] They came immediately after the completion of the "first round" of the republic congress—five out of 98 Communists to whom the Communist Party of Georgia had entrusted its representation at the 28th CPSU Congress. They came while they were still keyed up after heated battles at the congress and, judging by the mood, were prepared to continue the dialogue in their new capacity.

The delegates were asked first to share their impressions of the congress in Tbilisi, and second to reflect on what they would like to say to the general party forum. The conversation took off immediately.

[L. Gabeliya, secretary of the party bureau of the Ushapati Collective Farm-Combine] First of all, it is gratifying that the congress paid so much attention to the issues of primary party organizations, and by all signs it is felt that we are finally taking up the matter in earnest. After all, previously there was no end of talk to the effect that the fate of party work is decided in primary cells, whereas in reality it was different. I am convinced that the current problems of the party are largely due to the poor capability of primary organizations. Their helplessness developed as a result of being used to dictates from above and to forever waiting for instructions on what exactly needs to be "organized and reinforced," what needs "to be fundamentally improved," and so on.

Many primary party organizations failed to adapt swiftly as the political situation changed, due to their habitual

programmed operation. They turned out to be on the tail end of the rapidly developing political involvement of the people rather than in its vanguard; they turned out to be unable to stand up to the onslaught of political opponents who intercepted the initiative and at times acted in a more organized, offensive, and timely manner.

[Question] Does your primary organization also feel helpless?

[Gabeliya] What about us? It was not easy for us either, especially at first. Even now you cannot afford to doze off, though I should say that our Communists (130 people) know how to stand up for the interests of the collective. A lot depends in this matter on how social issues are solved. This is what I would also say in Moscow at the congress. The initiative of primary organizations should be directed at this segment. For example, the kolkhoz [collective farm] in Ushapati organized its own production of tea—not without our influence—and became a kolkhoz-combine. That is to say, we produce raw material, tea leaves, and process it ourselves. Imagine that life in the village became somehow different, perhaps, merrier. For example, we set up tea packaging and thus provided employment for the young people for actually the entire year. Otherwise, young men and women leave the rural areas. Besides, we generate considerable extra revenues due to this, which will make it possible to begin the construction of a new school and an athletic complex and pave the roads.

[A. Dikhtyar, construction foreman, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet] I believe that at this congress the Communists of Georgia have to some degree reduced the tremendous gap which emerged in the decades of stagnation between the well-known slogan "The people and the party are united" and the real state of affairs. Unlike previous congresses, this time we did not have loud, hollow optimism or, on the other hand, excessive attention to purely economic affairs. However, the administrative-economic syndrome was still present, perhaps, by inertia, in some speeches.

Unfortunately, I did not manage to speak, but if I am given the floor in Moscow I will say the same things I would have said here. For example, I would propose this slogan: "Apparatus, leave your offices!" In my conversations with party functionaries I frequently hear some bewilderment: What do our political opponents have to offer? To a considerable degree, what they have to offer is going to the people themselves, beating us to it, and the people begin to listen to them. Mutual communication is a great thing.

I even felt personally a condition of certain detachment from my own element when I had to concentrate on working in Moscow, in the Committee of the Supreme Soviet for the Issues of Construction and Architecture, and transferred my party membership to Moscow. As it was I was doing important work, but something essential was missing. Finally I could take it no more, and I

transferred my membership back to my old primary organization. I am always there, among my voters, in the last week of every month.

[Z. Chivadze, general director of the Tbilisi Production Association "Electric Locomotive Builder"] Did Anatoliy Dmitriyevich throw a stone at my window when he mentioned excessive interest in economic topics? Indeed, in my speech at the congress I "leaned" on the economy for the most part. How else could it be? To be sure, I am also in favor of the party giving up tutelage and interference in "the internal affairs" of economic managers. However, given that the soviets are not prepared to assume the reins of managing the economy either organizationally or structurally (and it is still unclear whether they should do it), I believe a complete "dismissal" of the party from economic affairs to be premature and hasty. Even now this is leading to colossal losses not only on the scale of individual enterprises but on that of the entire country. We are dealing with a catastrophic disruption of age-old interbranch cooperative relations. Look at our association, for example. Previously the collective had bonuses, and much housing was built with contributions to the social, cultural, and service facilities. Look at what has been done to us lately! We are losing our customary suppliers because the operating mechanism of economic management is out of tune. Referring to economic accountability and self-financing, many suppliers refuse to honor the obligations previously assumed or, having jacked up prices for their products, say: If you don't want it, don't take it! Meanwhile, prices for our final product, electric locomotives, have remained the same. Hence all the troubles of the collective. We suffer tremendous financial losses because we fail to produce 40 to 50 electric locomotives annually. On occasion there is no money to pay wages with, to say nothing about bonuses. What kind of ideology can we talk about under the circumstances, to say nothing of the fact that it is not set forth too precisely in the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform. Lots of problems will appear when we switch to market relations!

[Question] Where is the way out? At least, in your association?

[Chivadze] We are raising the issue of revising prices for electric locomotives. We are considering setting up a closed technological cycle. Otherwise, we will be ruined, all that will remain will be to switch the output of the enterprise to products that will be salable and will generate economic advantages for the republic, though, quite frankly, I would very much dislike that. We have wonderful specialists, locomotive designers, a strong backbone of skilled workers, traditions... Do you think I could convince the congress if I spoke about this in Moscow?

[V. Asatiani, minister of culture] I would like to second what Anatoliy Dikhtyar and Lcyla Gabeliya have said about the renaissance of truly profound rather than sham trust between the party and the people.

I understand how difficult it is. The party has given unrealistic promises to the people through the words of its leaders all too often, and, putting it bluntly, it has frequently outright lied. Still, I believe in the party. After all, whichever way you look at it, it is exactly in the party that the tremendous spiritual and creative potential of the people and its best forces are concentrated as of now. Until a certain time they were manacled by the centralist-bureaucratic shackles of "uniform obedience." Only now can they really show what they are capable of.

[Gabeliya] Exactly! I am altogether outraged by, so to say, "comrades" who as recently as yesterday thought nothing of taking advantage of all the benefits that membership in the party and "nomenklatura affiliation" gave them, and are now demonstratively trumpeting the fact that they have quit with a lot of bravado and pride on the television, the radio, and in the press. In all honesty, I think that in fact they have never been party members...

[Asatiani] As far as our congress is concerned, it is good that the words of representatives of culture were heard there. Previously it was not that easy for them to secure an appearance on the speaker's stand. At the same time, if I were to speak in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, I would first of all remind the delegates that "the residual principle" of allocating funds for culture has not been abandoned yet by any means. There is still a gaping discrepancy between the intellectual potential of our society and its material-technical facilities. A colleague of mine, Minister of Culture of Latvia Raimond Pauls, described the status of culture in a conversation on one occasion in his characteristically musical terms, by a not-so-merry joke: Supposedly, every night when he sums up the financial resources of culture he feels like playing "Dark Was the Night." Does this not frequently prompt the outstanding personalities of our culture to leave the country?

Also, I would definitely refer to our interethnic problems.

Indeed, the people of Georgia are firmly in favor of ensuring its economic and political sovereignty. As I see it, there is more than enough proof of that. However, this does not call for some kind of ethnic isolation. I am certain that all nations and ethnic groups residing in our republic have lived and will live in a united family. Moreover, I cannot conceive of the culture of Georgia in the absence of organic links with the great Russian culture. After all, we have profound traditions and centuries-long ties between Georgian and Russian intellectuals. The names of Pushkin, Lermontov, and Griboyedov, and later Pasternak, Tikhonov, and Zabolotskiy cannot be removed from our history and our culture... I do not know what history will decide: whether we in the Soviet Union are going to live under a federation or a confederation, but it is important to preserve undecayed these time-honored ties.

[A. Kavsadze, first secretary of the Gori City Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia] I will say right away that I am not new to party congresses. However, for the first time I got the impression that I am not merely a witness or an extra at the congress but, if you will, its worker.

What do I want to say by this? Our party is completely different now. Nonetheless, there is no end of talk in the press and at the meetings about a drop in the authority of the party, its mistakes and miscalculations, and particular abuses. I anticipate the same at the forthcoming congress. However, does it not seem to you that the excessive preoccupation of the party with "self-flagellation" does not promote its authority? As far as old vices and mistakes are concerned, I am convinced that there are no absolutely "virtuous" parties, and there have never been in the history of humanity because all parties consist of live people. This is all the more so in the case of a party like ours, which held the helm of power for many decades, and virtually without any competition assumed the functions of the state apparatus. If it is so then perhaps, while acknowledging old mistakes, we should still concentrate on not making new ones?

While still preparing for this congress, at a party conference in Gori (we have 11,000 Communists) we agreed on one thing: The main point at present is to preserve the unity of the party and avert a split. It is gratifying to note that at its first stage our republic congress set forth a virtually unified platform, unified position, and unified concept of national development, all the shades of opinions stated notwithstanding.

The reasons for quitting the party were discussed here. I would not maintain that office-seekers and random people are leaving invariably. In this case we could not but be happy for the party. It is a pity when people leave who are honest and diligent but have lost faith in the party. Incidentally, I definitely meet with all of them, trying to understand their arguments, and reflecting together with them on the reasons behind their decision to leave.

[Question] Have you changed many minds?

[Kavsadze] I don't know whether I changed their minds or they sorted it out themselves, but by now several people have asked to have their party membership cards returned to them.

I agree that party work is inconceivable at present without continuous communication with the people and tuning in to their political wavelength. However, this does not involve the "apparatchiks" only, as is commonly believed. At times even our primary elements exist supposedly in the collectives, but actually they are far removed from the people. For example, in our city mass resignations from the party suddenly came up at the precision instruments plant. What was happening? Their party organization has always had a good reputation, it was held up as an example. We examined the

heart of the matter and found that for a long time the party organization had not existed at the plant as the leader of the collective. This was an organization on paper. In reality, social movements got the upper hand there, which for some reason are still called informal though, as I see it, they have already acquired both a form and certain prestige with the masses.

We somehow forget that we already live under a multi-party system. The movements opposing us are the actual embryos of the parties that will soon appear next to us. If it is so, we should know them, deal with them, and, if our common cause benefits by this, cooperate with them. If it does not we should argue, persuade, convince, and struggle for influence with the ultimate resolve...

There is just one conclusion: The party should work with anticipation in order to win under our current conditions, it should stay in touch with the people, and boldly enlist as allies all those who go to the people with a positive idea and a constructive proposal. Of course, the main point is for the people to see specific returns from the party. In this case, confidence in us will be preserved. Is it not so?

Georgian Political Parties Form 'Roundtable'

90US1035A Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
25 May 90 pp 6-7

["Political Concept of the Roundtable of Political Parties and Organizations of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement"]

[Text] The only legitimate successor to the independent Georgian Democratic Republic today is the Georgian nation, the legitimate population of Georgia. It is therefore the Georgian people, the legitimate population of Georgia, who must choose the path of the restoration of Georgian state independence. Proceeding from the present reality, we see two possibilities for the restoration of state independence:

1. Universal national insubordination.
2. Universal elections of a provisional supreme leadership which will express the will of the people to the maximum extent possible under conditions of the occupation and annexation of Georgia.

The exercise of universal national insubordination, taking into account ethnic (the non-Georgian population which does not desire independence), moral (corruption, misappropriation, conformism), and political (imperial rule, an army of occupation) reality, is possible only under extreme conditions—in the event there exists an appropriately strong "charge." Such a "charge" may arise if the territorial integrity of Georgia is trampled upon or mass terror inflicted on the Georgian nation by the empire or provoked by its forces. Only in such an extreme case is the spontaneous realization of universal national insubordination possible in the degree of time

and scope that would lead the nation to state independence at a cost of extreme need, great risk, and possibly even blood. The realization of universal national insubordination is realistic only in the extreme situation. Otherwise, simply by force of appeal from a radical, irreconcilable opposition, the realization of universal national insubordination without a great degree of preparation in the near future is not very likely.

In order to elect an organ in Georgia which will express the will and interests of the people, which will operate only in consideration of existing objective reality and not under the dictate of a power of occupation and in compromise with it, the following is necessary: the radical opposition of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement and authentic political organizations must take part in elections so as to ensure that political forces subordinate to Moscow to one degree or another turn out to be a minority in the highest elected organ. For it is this highest elected organ which must take on the entire burden of the transition period. Because of the exceedingly serious geopolitical, political, economic, demographic, and ecological situation in Georgia, actions which do not proceed from the interests of the nation and the country are entirely impermissible in the astonishingly dynamic transition period.

Who is competent to speak in the name of the legitimate population of Georgia? How should the creation of such a legal entity take place? How are the people to entrust it with their mandate of confidence? The latest legal-political international act of great significance adopted in Georgia was the treaty of 7 May 1920 between the Georgian Democratic Republic and Soviet Russia, which was violated by Soviet Russia in extreme fashion—through armed aggression. All of this has been proclaimed and a final, legal formulation of it is a task of the future. Not a single (!) legitimate treaty act has been concluded in Georgia since 17 March 1921 (on which day the Constituent Assembly of the Georgian Democratic Republic suspended the Constitution of Georgia). This is declared as well by the present Georgian Supreme Soviet itself, which acknowledges all subsequent state documents (including itself in fact) to be illegal and therefore null and void. In order for the transition period in Georgia to proceed on a legal foundation, it must be begun on a legal footing. Any deviation whatsoever from legality during the initial stage of the transition period will only aggravate our already extremely serious situation, and in the final analysis will lead to nothing good. We therefore consider it necessary to take as the starting point of the transition period the 7 May 1920 treaty and the 27 January 1921 decision of the League of Nations recognizing the Georgian Democratic Republic as a sovereign international entity, rather than "good" or "bad" articles of the Union and republic constitutions. It is with this aim that the Lithuanian precedent has arisen, albeit somewhat hurriedly, and Lithuania will conduct negotiations with the empire country in the near future proceeding from international law, and not the Union Constitution. Thus, the present Georgian Supreme

Soviet can in no way be the entity which expresses the will of the legitimate population of Georgia. It is for precisely this reason—and not stubbornness—that the radical wing of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement is refusing to participate in Soviet elections, and this is entirely justified. The most acceptable form of creating a legal entity in world politics, an entity which expresses the will of the people, is universal democratic elections during which the mandate of confidence is entrusted to a legitimate highest authority for a defined period of time.

Universal, multiparty, unrestricted, democratic elections must be conducted in Georgia in the shortest possible time. **These will be lawful only if they are not Soviet** (regardless of whether or not they are recognized in international politics). In Georgia—and not only in Georgia—the terms Soviet and legitimate are mutually exclusive.

How can universal, non-Soviet, democratic elections be conducted in Georgia under today's conditions? There are two ways theoretically of conducting universal elections—**official and unofficial elections**. Unofficial elections immediately remove the Soviet stigma but must contend with problems extremely difficult to overcome. In the first place, in order for unofficial elections to be universal, in order for at least 51 percent of the **legitimate population of Georgia** to participate in them, it is necessary that these unofficial elections be **exclusive**. If the exclusivity of such elections were not proclaimed prior to their conduct, a great portion of the population—and not just the non-Georgian population—would most likely wait for official, Soviet elections. And the curious possibility of a certain segment of voters participating in both elections cannot be ruled out. At the same time, the organization of unofficial universal elections involves colossal difficulties just in itself—the republic's communist government could easily interfere with their organization. In the absence of powerful pressure, the authorities would never agree beforehand to declare exclusivity regarding unofficial elections, since they obviously do not intend to give up the political sphere easily. Meanwhile, the National Forum has resolved that only after elections of the National Congress (and then only if the National Congress has been elected by 51 percent of the population, i.e. a majority) will pressure be exerted on the existing communist leadership in order to abolish it. Thus, in the event of unofficial elections not declared to be exclusive, the participation of a majority of the legitimate population is doubtful. There is also the extremely significant problem of forming an unofficially elected legal entity as a subject having status under international law. Proceeding from contemporary world political reality, the prospect of having international observers come to Georgia for unofficial elections or the acknowledgment in this manner of an elected organ as a legal entity must be excluded. In addition to the above-mentioned complexities, therefore, even if these were to be resolved, we are confronted with one more problem—the struggle for recognition of the National Congress as

an entity of international law. Non-Soviet unofficial elections also have meaning, of course, if these difficulties are not overcome, if only because a minority of the Georgian population will have entrusted a certain organ with a mandate of confidence following which this organ will have the moral (only moral, unfortunately) right to speak for this Georgian population minority. Up to the present day, **no one in Georgia** has had such a right—neither moral nor legal. This would unquestionably be a step forward, but we are hardly likely to be able to overcome our existing political gap at such a rate of activity, given the modern era of extremely swift-moving political dynamics.

By virtue of the reasons given and others as well, the political organizations which have united at this Roundtable present the matter of conducting **official** non-Soviet elections in Georgia. Naturally, the realization of this idea is not free of obstacles either, but it seems to us that prospects for its implementation are more realistic and it will bring about greater benefit. In order for official, non-Soviet, multiparty, democratic elections to be conducted in Georgia, there must exist an appropriate political situation, for which the following preconditions are necessary:

1. Georgia must acquire the political status appropriate to its true political situation. In order to do this, the name thrust upon Georgia as a result of aggression and annexation—the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic—must be changed.

It is likely that pronouncement of a Declaration of Georgian Independence is not justified at our present stage. World politics will recognize our country as being independent only if the following conditions are met legally and in fact: a) the clearly expressed will of a majority of the country's population; b) legally established borders of the country's territory; c) complete sovereignty (control) of the country's independent government over all its territory. The lack of fulfillment of these conditions is hampering recognition of Lithuania's Declaration of Independence even by those states that never acknowledged the incorporation of the Baltic states into the composition of the Soviet Union. It will be all the more difficult to achieve world recognition of a Georgian Declaration of Independence. The Georgian Declaration of Independence must be declared by the provisional authority of the transition period following fulfillment of the above-listed conditions (and not by the single-party, communist, so-called Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic); and then universal, democratic, free elections must be scheduled in Georgia. At the same time, the change in the country's name (and naturally its symbols) signifies in fact **legal affirmation of the transition period**, since the Georgian Republic—**non-Soviet and nonsocialist**—cannot legally be considered as being part of the composition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is also taken into account that not announcing a Declaration of Independence at this stage will probably make it less likely the Soviet

Union will effect an economic blockade of Georgia, although this should not become an end in itself even in view of the deplorable economic situation Georgia finds itself in today.

2. The antihumane, undemocratic Constitution of the Soviet Union must be suspended over the entire territory of Georgia.

3. Suspension of the Soviet Georgian Constitution, drawing up a provisional constitution, returning to the 1921 constitution, or governing the country through legislative acts must be the prerogative of the provisional government of the transition period.

Fulfillment of these conditions by the existing leadership is realistically possible since they do not logically contradict decisions it has already taken. A failure to fulfill them on the part of the existing leadership will therefore be appraised only as one more instance of subordination to the diktat of the central occupation power. In the event our concept is adopted, the Georgian nation must oppose such inaction with powerful manifestations of protest.

Following fulfillment of the above-mentioned conditions, it will be possible to create a joint electoral commission of genuinely national political forces and the community, which will register without restrictions of any kind all authentic political parties and organizations presenting an individual program and platform, different from those of other political organizations and not contrary to international legal norms. It is also the prerogative of the electoral commission to determine the status of the legitimate population which will participate in the official, non-Soviet elections. Several months prior to the elections, all existing political organizations in Georgia must be afforded the opportunity of conducting a preelection campaign under the same conditions. Parallel to elections of the provisional authority of the transition period, the existing de facto so-called Supreme Soviet must be abolished.

Special mention must be made of the Georgian Communist Party, a part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. According to international legal norms, any country will have those parties—and only those parties—functioning therein which do not propagate violence, fascism, or racism, and which **are not subordinate to parties or organizations of other countries**. Thus, the participation of Georgian Communists in official non-Soviet elections is possible only in the event they are not organizationally subordinate to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The main purpose of the transition period must be the preparation of legal bases for the restoration of Georgian statehood.

In the name of the Georgian Helsinki Union:

Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Georgiy Mardzhanishvili, Avtandil Rtskhiladze, Temur Koridze.

In the name of the Society of St. Elijah the Righteous:

Tedo Paatashvili, Merab Uridiya, Gela Chorgolashvili, Tamaz Gvelesiani.

In the name of the Monarchist (Conservative) Party of Georgia:

Temur Zhorzholiani, Akakiy Asatiani, Giya Khonelidze, Tengiz Kitovani.

In the name of the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society:

Vazha Adamiya, Dzhemal Goletiani, Nugzar Molodnashvili, David Kupreishvili.

In the name of the Greens Party of Georgia:

Zurab Zhvaniya, Georgiy Baramidze.

In the name of the Republican Federal Party of Georgia:

Irakli Shengelaya, David Marganiya.

In the name of the Coordinating Collegium of groups of advisers (experts), permanent Roundtable participants:

Tengiz Sigua, Vakhtang Bakhtadze, Gizo Kordzadze, Zviad Bokuchava, Tengiz Dikhamindzhiya, Aleko Meladze, Georgiy Khavtasi.

Tbilisi, 12 May 1990.

Translated into Russian by the independent Georgian information agency "Matsne."

P.S. The authors of the political concept of the Roundtable group of advisers (experts) believe that consensus can be achieved regarding the proposed concept by political and social organizations as well as by private individuals who consider Soviet state structures to be illegal and who accept the thrust of the formulated principles.

Address: The Roundtable Office, 11 Machabeli Street (third floor), Tbilisi. Telephone: 93-78-73, "Matsne" Agency.

'Roundtable' Statutes Published

90US1035B Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian
25 May 90 p 6

["Statutes of the Roundtable of Political Parties and Organizations of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement"]

[Text] Preamble

The aim of the Roundtable of Political Parties and Organizations of the Georgian National-Liberation Movement is the creation of a realistic concept of restoring the state independence of Georgia and effecting specific steps to achieve this, proceeding from the political situation of today. It is necessary to draw up the

political concept in the shortest possible time in order to present the Georgian issue at the Helsinki-2 meeting.

The political organizations which have established the Roundtable believe cooperation with all noncollaborationist, peaceable organizations and individuals that repudiate imperialistic structures and violence is permissible. At the same time, dialogue with any political organizations or specific individuals is not excluded.

Roundtable Structure

1. The work of the Roundtable entails the participation of permanent organizational participants, other participants and invited guests.

The Roundtable establishes groups of advisers (experts) by branch. They in turn are authorized to invite both Georgian and foreign experts of the appropriate specialty.

2. a) Permanent Roundtable participants are:

The Georgian Helsinki Union, the Monarchist (Conservative) Party of Georgia, the Society of Saint Elijah the Righteous, the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society, and the Coordinating Collegium of the groups of advisers (experts) established by these organizations.

Each of the above-named organizations is represented by four participants in the work of the Roundtable.

b) An organization which is a permanent Roundtable participant has the right of casting a deciding vote and organizational veto.

The Coordinating Collegium of the Roundtable enjoys the right of deliberative vote.

3. Guests:

The four organizations which are permanent participants of the Roundtable are absolutely free in expressing their will and are authorized to invite any organization or specific individuals to the dialogue so as to draw up the optimal national concept.

4. Roundtable participants:

a) Organizations whose representatives participate regularly in the work of the Roundtable in guest status and who reach agreement with the organizational participants may be accepted by the Roundtable organizational participants on the basis of consensus.

b) Two representatives per organizational participant will participate in the work of the Roundtable with the right of deciding vote.

Principles of Roundtable Operation

1. Roundtable sessions are chaired by a speaker. During the course of a Roundtable session, participants must have the speaker's consent for their actions.

2. Roundtable participants are obliged to observe generally accepted ethical norms in their dealings with one another. If the actions of any Roundtable participant are

evaluated by the others as being unethical, that participant must leave the Roundtable.

3. Political organizations participating in the Roundtable have freedom of action and decision in matters not related to the work of the Roundtable.

Tbilisi, 11 May 1990

Snegur's 29 April Speech to Moldavian Supreme Soviet

90UN1864A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 1 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Speech presented by Mirchi Ion Snegur, candidate for position of Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman, presented on 27 April 1990 to the First Session, 12th Convocation of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet: "For a Republic Worthy of the People's Aspirations"]

[Text] Respected deputies! Dear fellow citizens!

My platform and my vision of the means of solving the problems of developing the republic and improving the living standard of the people are well-known from my speeches presented at various forums, and from published articles and interviews. I am happy that most of the deputies share these same concerns and feel the same sense of responsibility for their resolution.

If you ask me: "Is it possible to speed up perestroika, to facilitate the rebirth of national consciousness by parliamentary means?", I would answer with full assurance, "Yes, it is possible!". Evidence of this may be seen in the resolutions of the 13th and 14th Sessions of the republic's Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, which, I might add, may be evaluated also as my report of activity for that period of time during which I headed up the activity of parliament. Of course, there were also certain shortcomings allowed during this period, especially in implementing control over the realization of the adopted laws.

The current membership of the Supreme Soviet has a strong potential, and we must create all the conditions for its maximal application. It would be preferable for the activity of the deputies to be oriented from the very beginning toward seeking ways leading to civil unity and accord, and for this activity to be fruitful and constructive, so that we would not be forced to deal with problems which are not peculiar to a civilized parliament.

We, the people's deputies of the republic, have hard work ahead of us, which requires high civil responsibility. Our calmness, knowledge, exactingness, and objectivity will largely determine the creation of our highest organ of state power, corresponding to the demands of the times.

Under conditions of a multi-party system, which is already becoming a reality in our society, the activity of

the Supreme Soviet will also be unique. We will often have to find compromise solutions and seek ways toward a consensus.

Honorable elected officials of the people! I view my nomination for candidacy to the position of Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman as an honor and a sign of great trust. I heartily thank you and am counting on your help and support in this difficult time of breakthrough for our republic.

In evaluating the current socio-political and economic situation in the republic, I believe that, despite the many problems and difficulties, we may also conclude that there have been certain real results: The rebirth of national consciousness, the increased democratization of public life, and the political transformations.

Nevertheless, the socio-political situation remains tense, at times even very tense. As yet we have not observed any noticeable improvement in inter-ethnic relations either in the republic or in Kishinev. Various unsanctioned measures organized often for the purpose of exerting pressure still continue. There are various reasons which facilitate the emergence of this extraordinary situation. Even today we feel the passiveness of many leaders of various ranks, their habits of acting upon orders "from above", their unwillingness to deal with vitally important everyday problems, to live in the aspirations and hopes of the workers, and to examine and resolve in a timely manner the questions raised by citizens in their petitions and complaints. Of course, the organs of state authority and management have also not done everything they could and everything they should have done. We have still not rid ourselves of such a negative trait of the past as dragging out the solution of important questions, or the tendency toward more talk and less practical action. Yet our weakness is being used by destructive forces of anti-perestroika, which under the slogan of renewing society are in fact striving toward separatism, sowing enmity between people of different nationalities, propagandizing the formation of autonomy, organizing local referendums, work stoppages and hunger strikes, and taking actions which evoke concern for tomorrow in all of us.

Under these conditions, the Supreme Soviet will have to try especially hard to remove the tension in the social and economic spheres, to resolve together with all the people the questions dictated by life itself, and not allow the errors which were characteristic of our past.

The situation in the republic's national economy remains complex and contradictory. In the last 4 years, the disbalance in the economy has grown worse, and new disproportions and problems have arisen. As a result, during this period the debt in accumulation of national income has comprised around 400 million rubles, while the inability to satisfy the consumer potential of the population reached 924 million rubles in 1989.

The main reason for this situation is the fact that the current economic mechanism does not correspond to the

demands of the times. We must more decisively and energetically implement the economic reforms which we have begun, the basis of which, of course, is the transition of the republic, the cities, rayons, and rural Soviets to self government and cost accounting.

Having embarked upon the path of creating a union of free and independent states, we must develop a socio-economic conception of a Moldavian sovereign state, which would clearly and precisely define the economic, financial and administrative problems which are specific to Moldavia. The duty of the Moldavian SSR people's deputies and the permanent commissions which will be created at this session consists of thoroughly [studying] and generalizing together with scientists and specialists the draft of this conception developed by the Moldavian SSR Gosplan and discussed by the people. I consider it necessary to also publicize other alternative projects of the conception. Specific proposals and practical actions must be used to confirm our desire to see the Moldavian SSR as an equal among equals in the civilized world.

To achieve this goal, we must have full economic independence, so that all the enterprises would change over to direct subordination to the republic. I am convinced that a truly sovereign republic is capable of itself determining the path of its development, the parameters of its national production complex, and the sale of manufactured products. All these actions must be implemented on the basis of the appropriate republic laws, and not union ones. We must ensure financial and currency independence of the republic, and establish and strengthen direct ties with foreign countries.

We need energetic measures for **developing the social sphere**. Especially in rural areas, for the purpose of improving the life of the peasants. An exceptional role in this must be played by the Laws on Land and Leasing, which will be adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The Law on Land will liberate the peasant and create prerequisites for the skillful application of this natural resource, as well as conditions which would allow the peasant to become the true master of his village and his ancient land. I believe that this question, stemming from the peculiarities of our republic, may be resolved by means of optimal combination of the collective forms of land application with the intensive development of the subsidiary peasant farm, for which purpose we must increase subsidiary plots.

We will count on the experience of the agrarian deputies, who will play a decisive role in developing the appropriate Law. We, the deputies, will have to work out resolutions and legislative statutes which will also facilitate the development of the entire agro-industrial complex and accelerate the realization of the Food Program. They will also help to specify and accelerate the fulfillment of two other programs which are just as important—"Housing-2000" and "Consumer Goods".

The new Supreme Soviet must constantly keep in its view the question of realization of measures directed

toward the **protection and improvement of the environment**, which worries us more and more with each passing day. It is time to totally change our attitude toward this concern which is common to all of us. I am referring primarily to putting an end to the residual principle of distributing funds for these purposes, considering the fact that the environment determines our very existence.

The **questions of migration and unemployment** are raised more and more frequently. I believe that they deserve particular attention. Although measures have been taken in recent times for regulating these processes, the number of citizens coming to Moldavia is still very great.

The number of unemployed persons is also high. Yet if we take into consideration also the distorted demographic situation and the undeveloped system of cadre training and excessive industrialization, which does not take into consideration the peculiarities and interests of the republic, the need for adopting the Moldavian SSR Law, "On utilizing the work force of the population and on migration" becomes obvious. We will examine this question in the near future.

I consider the implementation of a broad program of accelerated development of public education, science and culture to be a most important problem. Public education is a barometer of a society's level of culture. Ecological, juridical and economic ignorance, the inability to build mutual relations at the workplace and in the social environment, and often the absence of the most elementary upbringing are the fruits of vast omissions in this sphere. A radical restructuring of public education, beginning with elementary and ending with higher, must be directed toward the preparation of specialists capable of radically changing the scientific-technical, economic and intellectual provision of the national economy. Leading scientists, writers, methodologists and pedagogs must be involved in the preparation of new programs and textbooks in the state language. We cannot economize on education and science.

In the near future we must increase the allocations for scientific research and allocate more funds for solving problems of education and culture. It is important for scientists to be closer to production and to strengthen their ties with it. I believe that the most effective means of achieving this is the creation of scientific-production systems operating on contract principles.

We also need to have a different attitude toward the republic's academic cadres, who must correspond to the national structure of the population. The parliament and the government must give greater attention to the creation of a current scientific-experimental base and to promoting young talent. They must give support to well-known scientists and help them expand contacts with their Soviet and foreign colleagues, organize work-study programs and even the training of individual specialists at certain prestigious foreign institutes and universities. It is specifically the high professional training, competency, responsibility, and initiative of

the young national cadres that will determine and direct the rate of the republic's development.

The former policy in the sphere of cadre preparation also imparted a great loss upon our culture. False and conditional theories forced us to reject many values and determined the disappearance and destruction of entire chapters of the kray's national history. This vicious circle has finally been broken. Many of the "white spots" [gaps] in history are disappearing. Moldavian has become the state language and has returned to the Latin graphics, its natural dress. The restoration of this historical justice promotes the national rebirth of the people and greatly facilitates the spiritual conquest of the difficulties facing us. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet must demand from the republic's government that it adhere to the timetable for implementing the Laws on Languages. The time for discussions about them has passed.

We will have to exert great effort in creating a real national theatre, in resurrecting the century-old folklore traditions and restoring the monuments of cultural history. Fruitful cultural exchange with the peoples of the Soviet, with Romania and other countries will enrich our minds and souls.

As for our relations with Romania, they must develop in all spheres. The border crossing procedure must finally be simplified, which we have spoken so much about. In short, we must do everything possible to see that these relations reach the level of the civilized countries of Europe.

The difficulties and problems which require urgent resolution are present in all spheres of public life. They will be resolved only when the Soviets become full-fledged organs of people's self government. As you know, many efforts have been made in the past to increase the role and authority of the Soviets, but they did not achieve the outlined results. Direct intervention of the party organs in the resolution of specific state and economic questions and the material dependence of the Soviets on ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations located on the subordinate territory have undermined the authority and reduced the effectiveness of the local Soviets' power.

Our duty consists of developing quality laws which would be able to provide for the Soviets full authority on the territory under their jurisdiction and at the same time to increase their responsibility for the socioeconomic development of the territories.

The independence of the local Soviets depends on an entire series of normative statutes which the republic's Supreme Soviet will soon adopt. These are the Laws on land, on property, on leases, on taxes, and others. Especially important for increasing the role of the Soviets will be the Law on Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Economic Management. The republic's people's

deputies must help the Soviets in resolving vitally important questions and in giving practical aid to the recently elected leaders of the Soviets.

The current parliament is called upon to make a specific contribution to the realization of political reform. Today, when the development of the political system has entered its decisive stage, we must work out a conception for developing democracy and creating a legal state, without which we will not be able to travel the path of development of a civilized state. Thus, legislative activity is of first priority importance.

Of the bundle of problems on creating a legal state, we must isolate primarily the implementation of political and economic reforms, the resolution of questions dealing with sovereignty, citizenship, migration, and guarantees of the rights of national groups living on the republic's territory, as well as environmental protection and other equally important questions dealing with parliamentary activity. I would like to bring to your attention the fact that many draft laws on the above-mentioned questions will be submitted to the permanent commissions and committees of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet in the course of our session's work.

The development of legislative statutes is a difficult and multi-faceted process. The draft laws will henceforth be developed within the permanent commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet with involvement of scientists, specialists, and practical workers, and prior to their adoption will be reviewed at the sessions in the first, and if necessary—in the second reading. The practice of their discussion by the entire population of the republic will also be developed. The real success of their application under current conditions may be ensured only in the case of an integrated approach to the development and fulfillment of normative statutes.

At the same time, we must learn to predict legislative policy, to correct lawmaking activity if necessary, and to apply joint efforts for strengthening legality and law and order. The heart of the republic's legislative system is the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldavian SSR.

The adoption of the Law on certain supplements and changes to the republic's Constitution ensured the creation of the necessary conditions for renewing the structure of the Soviets, defining the order of formulation and the activity of the higher organs of state power, and improving the electoral system.

Work on developing and amending the Constitution continues. A large part of the deputies insists on the adoption of a new Constitution in the near future. I agree with this proposal, since all the other legislative statutes stem from the Constitution. I believe that the session must form a constitutional commission, granting it the appropriate powers.

Generalizing what had been said, I would like to stress: The newly elected parliament has the necessary intellectual potential for solving the above-listed problems, if

only its energy is not expended on the clarification of minor and non-principle details which do not interest the people and which they do not need. We need to learn to work efficiently, specifically and effectively. We are living in a republic which has a future, which has industrious and talented people (regardless of their nationality), and rich cultural traditions which need to be preserved and augmented. I express the firm assurance that the republic's Supreme Soviet will fully utilize its legislative authority and will achieve the affirmation of normal relations among all residents of the republic, that it will encourage the tendency toward mutual respect and facilitate the flourishing of the republic. This cause will involve the public, the press, radio and television.

I cannot imagine my work in the position of Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman without the help of the Moldavian people—a treasure of kindness and wisdom. I am counting on the greatest support from the peasants and the workers, the intelligentsia—this great real force capable of solving the most complex and important problems of our economic, political and spiritual life. I hope that the workers, scientists, writers, artists, journalists, teachers, doctors, and all the intelligentsia will continue to stand by us, the people's deputies, and will help to bring to life the decisions of the Supreme Soviet and the great ideals of perestroika.

Today we are passing through great trials. If we are united in our aspirations, if we are real citizens of our republic, filled with the desire to work in the name of the well-being of our people, if we act energetically, efficiently, through our common efforts to overcome the distortions in the social, political and economic spheres, if we are reliable friends in any circumstances and at any turn of historical fate, we will surely make our republic truly rich and flourishing, healthy in all respects, worthy of our forefathers and of the natural and pure thoughts of all the people.

Thank you for your attention.

Moldavian SSR Kishinev Party Conference Detailed

90UN2072A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 15 May 90 p 2

[Article by E. Shalimov: "From the Kishinev City Party Conference:" "To Be On the Verge of Events"]

[Text] There are about 52,000 CPSU members in the capital party organization—that is about one-fourth of the Moldavian Communist Party. And thus, remarks overheard in the lobby, that the city party conference is but a rehearsal for the republic party congress, were probably true. Any comparison, as everyone knows, is a poor one. But once I heard that word, I could not get it out of my system, and to a certain extent it determined the point of view—mine at any rate—for the entire course of the conference.

And so, what did the rehearsal indicate?

Schism, demarcations, or open confrontation on some principle or another, did not take place. There was, it's true, one moment when emotions very nearly took control, but they managed to overcome it. And that too took place outside the bounds of the main discussion.

Whether or not the city party conference was a serious step toward true consolidation of the party forces of Kishinev, only time will tell. It is hard to make predictions here. But I would like to focus attention on one phenomenon of recent times, or more accurately one of its symptoms, which made itself known at the conference. And that was a weariness with talk. No, there were no shortcomings in the speeches at the conference. But you see, when in the fourth hour of its work the well-known, "Comrades, we must take counsel: we are receiving notes about halting the debates," was heard, the assembly, it seemed to me, was all too ready to oblige. True, there were some objections as well, especially from those who wanted to speak. But finally, after taking counsel, the assembly quite cordially decided to give the chair, after the second break, to the cultural representative, then to Moldavian CP Central Committee First Secretary P.K. Luchinskiy, and with that, to conclude the debate. Somehow that is not very characteristic of our era of meetings-and-speeches, is it? On the other hand, perhaps it is indeed. After all, since the beginning of perestroika, all we have been doing is talk and talk. By now it would seem everyone would have felt a burning need to get down to brass tacks. But you see, no particular symptoms of such a need were evident, and I hope the delegates of the Kishinev City Conference do not take offense at me. In any case, the main document which they adopted—the resolution of the conference, with all its additions and proposals—was... How should I say it? It was rather traditional. Even the typical, "Instruct the drafting committee to make an amendment in consideration of..." will hardly change it much.

No, I do not want to dismiss the conference in any way, directly or indirectly. Gorkom First Secretary N.A. Tsyu delivered a solid report there; and there were some very interesting and serious speeches, and some very impartial analyses. In short, there was substance from which one could take both ideas, and thoughts, and specific suggestions for seriously restructuring party work in the city, and for mobilizing forces in the extremely complex situation of today. But somehow we have already learned over many long years that to this very day our main efforts and the majority of our energies have been devoted to preparation of measures and analysis of the mistakes of the past. But to resolve the absolutely concrete; to resolve, with all the collective experience and the collective pain that has been absorbed, the state of affairs and the state of the party, there is no strength left. And yes, in my opinion, the desire has departed too.

After all, if one is to investigate, or to discuss something, it seems to me on the whole, that one does not need a report, but a draft resolution—with criticism, seriously weighing every point and every word...

There was no such discussion at the conference. I think it would be more useful to describe what went on there on the basis of the city committee's report, and the speeches.

From the Report of N.A. Tsyu:

The party gorkom [city committee] had at one time drawn up a promising work plan for 1989-1990. Its main thrusts and the principal questions brought forth at the party gorkom plenums were formulated in consideration of the socio-political situation in the city... Probably we would not violate the truth if we said that the style of the gorkom's work has changed, and that the mutual demandingness of the members of the gorkom and its buro had increased at that time. Collegiality in taking decisions has become an integral part of that style. Political leadership methods were not worked out without difficulty. Buro members, secretaries and officials on the party gorkom apparat began to enter more boldly into open dialogue with people, and to more boldly rebuff shouters and demagogues. But in an atmosphere of increasing popular political activeness, inefficiency and imprecision were often observed in our actions. The program for restructuring the work of the city's party organizations, drawn up at the third gorkom plenum, are not being implemented well.

We must also admit that in today's extremely complex socio-political situation, far from every member of the gorkom is actively getting involved in the events taking place: certain of them are simply passive in complex situations; and many have not carried out the instructions of the Fifth Gorkom Plenum—and have not given an account of their work to the primary party organizations. Gorkom Secretaries Comrades Tsyu, Chumachenko and Stratulatu were unable to ensure unity of action among the gorkom members...

The city committee and the raykoms in the city quite often lose the initiative or are late in analyzing events in extreme situations... In analyzing our influence on the course of elections to the republic Supreme Soviet and to the city Soviet, we must acknowledge in self-criticism that we have been unable to provide support everywhere to communist candidates, gorkom members included. In spite of the fact that about 60 percent of the new membership of the city Soviet are communists, they have not become a unified force. On the whole the election results demand serious thought, and development of clear-cut tactical and strategic guidelines: because the struggle for deputy mandates in conditions of the emerging multi-party situation is the party's most important task for the foreseeable future.

The party gorkom, it must be honestly admitted, has not given proper attention to lower-ranking party links; and after all, that is where the main thing is being decided. In 1989, 1,024 people were expelled from the party and 332 people gave up their party cards by reason of loss of faith in the possibility of achieving the programmed goals of perestroika. And at the same time, reception of new members into the party declined by almost half in the

city, and above all from among the workers. More than two-thirds of the primary party organizations did not bring in any new members last year. And this year the situation has become worse. In the first quarter alone, 450 people left the party.

In a number of cases it was impossible to avoid stratification of communists by ethnic group. Therefore, today as never before, it is important to intensify concern for ensuring the unity of party organizations.

The workers of the city are justly criticizing the leaders of party and soviet organs for their inability to rebuff anti-state demonstrations and appeals. But every communist must be held strictly accountable for the present situation.

The city party organization decisively condemns all manifestations of inter-ethnic hostility. We see the future of both the political and economic sovereignty of the republic in membership in a reformed federation of union republics.

From the speech of Frunzenskiy Rayon Party Committee First Secretary V.I. Myrzak:

The backbone of the party is the primary party organization. It is to them that we must transfer all power in the party. Today polarization of various forces is very strong. There are stratifications in the party as well. The delegates of the Frunzenskiy Rayon party organization believe that the criterion must be a communist ideological position. And therefore, re-registration of party members is very necessary, and a decision on this must be taken at the 28th CPSU Congress. As far as the city party committee is concerned, it must become a genuine coordinator of the efforts of the rayon party organizations, which it does not yet do. It has not yet abandoned the old methods. I believe it would be expedient to convene a gorkom plenum after the 28th CPSU Congress, and clearly define its structure.

From the speech of V.A. Khrenov, chairman of the city committee of war and labor veterans:

The veterans want the gorkom to be a genuine political organ. We are very disturbed by the fact that gorkom secretaries are working with hunched shoulders. The prestige of the gorkom has declined greatly. Veterans in the city have been ignored. Unfortunately, the gorkom has not taken an in-depth look at the veterans' movement, and has not taken advantage of its potential.

From the speech of K.F. Krechun, pro-rector of the Art Institute:

I am amazed at how the previous speaker can lay it on thick. But there is another aspect. Many people are constantly demanding that the city committee take some kind of maximal, radical measures. I, on the other hand, am very much impressed with the diplomatic manner in which the gorkom does its work. We are receiving very authoritative information on political events from the gorkom.

Today, as we as a party have lost the status of ruling party, we must build up our prestige by our own efforts. High political standards are required, and they begin with being well-informed. Therefore, it is not the time to talk about eliminating the political education system; it must be especially effective and well-considered.

From the speech of M.A. Margarit, a worker in the Kishinev Electric Power Grid:

I feel bad about my party today. Where did all these attacks come from? Why must the mistakes of certain leaders and the improper actions of party careerists be laid on the backs of all honest communists? We must close ranks.

There are a great many questions which it is hard for me, an ordinary party member, to answer in the collective. And that is why I think that party leaders must visit the primary organizations more often. And now they have given up the party gorkom building. I, for one, believe that the party apparat should now be working three shifts. The necessary conditions are there. They must clearly explain to the people, with whose money this building was built, and then no doubt they will begin to ask questions.

We've all been indiscriminately charged with careerism. Just look at what kind of career I have made, just like most ordinary communists, after forty years of work and thirty years of party membership. Let us band together, in order to restore to the party its former prestige. Certain people are now abandoning it. But I shall carry my party card until the end of my days.

From the speech of I.V. Kolibaba, director of the republic school for management of the agro-industrial complex:

Unrest and tension have become firmly established in Kishinev. The slogan, "Zhos Communisht!" has taken root. Yesterday the Panorama Show on Moldavian television also played this slogan for us, for some reason, in an interview with People's Deputy Chimpoy. One cannot help seeing that the policy of the CPSU, to a significant degree, remains unexplained, and at times is unintelligible. As far as the position of the gorkom is concerned, not only do the workers not always understand it—neither do the leading communists. But the main thing is that the gorkom has very often been late with its position on the most timely events in the city; thus this position no longer plays any kind of role whatever.

Unfortunately, the gorkom's report did not provide answers to many of my questions, and there was a great deal of aimless criticism in it. If we are tired of talking about true democracy, the main thing in my view is not to eliminate the gorkom as some people propose, but to remove from its apparat the indifferent, passive people and replace them with bolder, more confident communists, who are devoted to the cause; and, subordinate such an apparat to an elected organ, or perhaps even to the Conference.

Today as never before, an in-depth, systematic analysis of the situation in the city is needed (before it is too late). And propaganda on its ideals and goals is badly needed too—and I have in mind the ideals and goals of the gorkom, the organ which is at the head of 50,000 communists. It would make sense to rent a television channel one hour per week. Politization of the masses is going on—or more accurately it is being carried on—in a one-sided manner. Where their visual agitation is displayed the gorkom must have a display too.

From the speech of A.L. Nekrasov, lathe operator at the Mikroprovod Scientific Production Association:

We are very disturbed by the fact that many workers—honest people who were devoted to communism in the past—are leaving the party. Probably this proceeds from the fact that people are losing their faith in the party leaders as well as in their capability of leading the country out of its dilemma. Moreover, the events of recent days bear witness to the fact that the role of the working class in the party is being gradually and purposefully diminished.

At present the working class seems passive. It is expecting the leadership to take effective measures to restore order in the country and in the republic. And if our party leaders would lead, the working class would find in itself the strength of the leader, staying on the socialist path and Marxist platform, to lead the country and the republic in the proper direction.

Analyzing the work of the party gorkom, I believe it is necessary to take note of the eroded state of its positions, its shying-away from side to side, and its weakness of will, which has led to the decline of its prestige and its inability and lack of desire to try to solve the burning problems which are bothering the communists.

I propose abolishing the gorkom as a superfluous structure, and I consider the work of the gorkom for the reporting period unsatisfactory.

From the speech of Dnestrovskiy Rayon Party Committee First Secretary V.G. Muntyanu:

Today as never before, it is important to rid ourselves of the obsolete methods of centralism and unsuitable forms of work. Neither the central committee, nor the gorkom nor the rayon party committees have yet become the methodological centers which would organize the organs capable of rallying all the healthy forces around them.

It is, of course, easy to preach and to give advice. Especially if one has had the experience. We have a great potential in the city, but how is it being manifested? Very poorly. Why do the communists not hold their own political meetings? If even every other party member had come to the square on May Day... And there weren't even 10,000 of us there. Today we must solve the main problem—how to get out of the crisis, which everyone is ready to take upon himself.

From the speech of M.S. Kamerzan, department chief at Moldsovprom [Moldavian SSR Trade Unions Council]:

We have something to think about. Why have the party organs, starting with the CPSU Central Committee and right down to the party committees and bureaus in the localities, so easily surrendered their positions and lost the initiative? Why has the party, which has such deep roots in the people, become a falling object? Why has self-criticism been turned into self-flagellation or even self-destruction? There is probably not another party in the world which would have treated itself and its members in such a way. But true communists have not lost their prestige. It was lost, I think, by those who at one time got on the waiting list for the party in order to climb the career ladder; but now, that things are tough for the party, they are prepared to kick it or break it into national-ethnic pieces, in order to gain prestige on the cheap. Of such people, Moldavians say, "They would sell their own mothers."

From the speech of MVD Party Committee Secretary A.S. Chaykovskiy:

The gorkom has poorly coordinated the activity of the raykoms and primary party organizations, and the members of its bureau have not displayed their fighting spirit.

From the speech of I.P. Borovik, director of the scientific-technical center at Moldavgidromash Production Association:

Words of cunning and hypocrisy have been heard in the hall about the communist victories in the elections, at which they won from 60-80 percent of the votes. The unpleasant truth is that three-fourths of the party members went to the election enjoying the support of or included on the lists of NFM [Moldavian People's Front] or the Yedinstvo [unity] Inter-Movement. And that is no secret to anyone.

From the speech of L.N. Khromova, party organization secretary at the Theater imeni Chekhov:

Complaints were heard in speeches here about the word "domnul" which has just come into use. Well, why don't we have enough, pardon me, culture, to understand that this is a return of respect for individuals... I would only be happy if in place of the awkward form of address "man," or "woman," the words "sir" and "ma'am" would once again enter the Russian language.

As already reported, Moldavian CP Central Committee First Secretary P.K. Luchinskiy spoke at the Kishinev city party conference. N.I. Dudeu was chosen first secretary of the Kishinev City Party Committee.

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Elects President at 24 March Session

Information Report

90US0894A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Mar 90 p 1

[Informational Announcement on the Session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet]

[Text] On 24 March in Tashkent, the First Session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, 12th Sitting, commenced its work.

The session was opened by the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission T.Kh. Sabitov.

The report of the Mandate Commission was given by its chairman, Deputy Sh.M. Mirziyayev.

Upon the report of the Mandate Commission, the Uzbek Supreme Soviet in accord with Article 104 of the Uzbek Constitution recognized the legitimate authority of 463 Uzbek people's deputies.

The agenda of the session was approved as follows:

The Uzbek Draft Law on Establishing the Post of Uzbek President and the Incorporation of Amendments and Supplements in the Uzbek Constitution (Basic Law);

Election of the Uzbek President;

The provisional regulation for the sessions of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet;

Electing the chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the deputy chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet;

Forming the permanent commissions of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet;

Approving the membership of the Uzbek Council of Ministers;

Appointing the chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers;

Report of the Uzbek Council of Ministers on the program for the forthcoming activities of the government and on the course of carrying out the Decree of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies "On Measures to Improve the Economy, on Stages of the Economic Reform and on Basic Approaches to Working Out the 13th Five-Year Plan";

The proposals of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet to amend and supplement the USSR Law "On Universal Military Service";

Election of the Uzbek Supreme Court;

The main directions for shaping the economic independence of Uzbekistan.

The deputies also discussed a number of other important questions.

The session moved on to a discussion of the Uzbek Draft Law on Establishing the Post of Uzbek President and the Incorporating of Amendments and Supplements in the Uzbek Constitution (Basic Law).

A report was given by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, Deputy M.I. Ibragimov.

Participating in the discussion were the Uzbek People's Deputies S.D. Niyetullayev, M. Ergasheva, V.G. Grabilin, B. Serikov, O. Makhmudov, Kh.Kh. Nishonov, P.K. Kadyrov, G.Kh. Sidakov and others.

The session adopted the Uzbek Law "On Establishing the Post of Uzbek President and Incorporating Amendments and Supplements in the Uzbek Constitution (Basic Law)."

Then the Uzbek President was elected.

By secret ballot, the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Islom Abduganiyevich Karimov was elected the first President of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Uzbek President I.A. Karimov took the oath.

Then the Uzbek President gave a speech.

The session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet will continue its work on 26 March.

President Karimov Address

90US0894B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Mar 90 pp 1-2

[Speech of the Uzbek President I.A. Karimov at the First Session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, 12th Sitting]

[Text] Respected comrade deputies! Citizens of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic! Dear compatriots!

Just by a decision of the Republic Supreme Soviet session for the first time in the history of Uzbekistan, the post of Uzbek President has been established and these high and responsible duties have been entrusted to me.

I express gratitude for the great trust shown to me. I receive this as the highest duty and enormous responsibility to the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all workers of Uzbekistan, to the Uzbek people, to all nations and nationalities residing in Uzbekistan for ensuring the constitutional rights and liberties of each citizen and for the further flourishing of the republic along a path of national and social progress in the unified family of the Soviet peoples.

As you know, several days ago at the Third Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, a law was passed on establishing the post of USSR President. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was elected to it.

Throughout the nation this decision was received with profound satisfaction. The Soviet people link their hopes and aspirations to this act for a real improvement in life, for a strengthening of discipline and order and for the further development of friendship and collaboration among the Soviet peoples within the renewed federation of the USSR.

The introduction of presidential rule was dictated by life itself, by the logic and course of perestroika, by its complexities and contradictions. The republic, like the entire nation, is presently living through a difficult turning point. The problems of national-political, economic, social and spiritual development which had built up over the years and decades had become apparent and had assumed an acute, hypertrophied character. Upon their consistent and effective solution depend the future of the republic, the fate of the people, the personal well-being of each man, his family and the new generations of Uzbek citizens. Establishing the post of president opens up new opportunities for a fundamental solution to these and other difficult problems confronting the republic.

What do I see as my main duties as President of the Uzbek SSR?

The further strengthening and development of the political sovereignty of Uzbekistan and the giving of a new, real content to this. The present level and prospects for the further national-state, socioeconomic and spiritual development of the nation and the growth of the people's national self-awareness require a renovation of the Soviet Federation and a clearer delimitation of powers between the republic and the USSR.

At present, it is becoming an obvious fact that the Uzbek SSR, like the other Union republics comprising the USSR, should be a sovereign socialist state and possess all state power on its territory, with the exception of those powers which it voluntarily and in mutual agreement turns over to the higher bodies of state power and administration of the USSR.

As president, I feel that the republic should independently resolve all questions related to the rational utilization of labor resources, the natural and mineral raw material riches, the locating of production and economic facilities, provide comprehensive economic and socio-cultural development on its territory, coordinate and supervise the activities of the enterprises, institutions and organizations belonging to the USSR and work for safe conditions for labor and the protecting of the environment as well as satisfying the needs of the population.

At the same time, the republic and all its citizens must unswervingly and sacredly carry out the obligations which derive from the treaty of union. This concerns primarily the defense of the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and inviolability of the USSR state frontier, the organization of defense and the Armed Forces and ensuring state security. It is also those economic and

social tasks which are carried out jointly with all republics within the framework of the nation's national economic complex and derive from the international agreements of the USSR.

As an independent, sovereign and equal republic, Uzbekistan independently organizes its relations and develops political, economic, scientific and cultural ties with other republics, in strengthening in every possible way the ties of friendship and collaboration, mutual respect and good neighborliness.

I would particularly like to point up the fraternal relations which derive from the depths of the ages and which have come into being between the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The commonness of historical fates, the similarity of language and cultural, spiritual traditions, direct propinquity and the interpenetration of our peoples have established good prerequisites for the further broadening and deepening of all-round collaboration among our republics.

In the sphere of national-state construction, primary attention should be given to the questions of improving interethnic relations, ensuring the rights and freedoms of the citizens, regardless of national affiliation, language or religion. In increasing the practical work of implementing the Law on Giving the Uzbek Language the Status of a State Language on Republic Territory, at the same time it is essential to guarantee all the population the free use of Russian as the language of international contact among the nation's peoples and the full satisfying of the linguistic, national-cultural needs of representatives from all nations and nationalities residing in Uzbekistan.

This applies fully to the Karakalpak ASSR and to the problems of accelerating socioeconomic development, raising the national-state and legal status of the sole autonomous formation in our region.

The most important thing is to maintain and strengthen respectful, friendly relations between the representatives of all the nations and nationalities. This has primary significance for the fate of the people, for peace and prosperity in the republic and for the present and future of our multinational nation.

The tragic events of last year in Fergana Oblast and the tense, conflict-ridden situations which recently arose in a number of rayons in Tashkent Oblast have starkly shown what enormous danger lies in the fanning of interethnic hostility. This is a disease, an epidemic which must be prevented and stopped by all available means in order to prevent victims and destruction.

For this reason, I consider it my primary duty, in accord with the Uzbek and USSR Constitutions and the humane, kind traditions of the Uzbek people to seek the decisive and unswerving observance of the laws which defend the honor and dignity of each man and which prohibit the propagandizing of national hostility and violence. Violations of legislation on these questions

must be seen as severest crimes before humanism and humanity, as an encroachment on the civil rights of people, as a climb before one's own people which undermines their authority and prestige in the eyes of the public opinion of the nation and the world community and as an encroachment on basic civil rights.

You and I, dear comrades, cannot and do not have the right to permit this. Over the ages the Uzbek people have been good neighbors and have lived in friendship and collaboration with all peoples. By their goodness, by humanism, by industriousness and by a readiness for mutual collaboration and aid, they have merited respect and gratitude from the brother peoples. And we will not allow anyone to cast a shadow against their good name.

A most important task of presidential rule is the strengthening of the republic's economic independence and its conversion to self-management and self-financing. At the current session, the deputies must discuss and approve a governmental program on the main areas of Uzbek economic and social development. I will take up only certain key, most fundamental and most painful problems the solution to which will determine the actual and not the declared economic independence of the republic as well as an increased standard of living for the people which is the main aim of all economic and social policy of the party and Soviet power.

First of all, there is the structural restructuring of our entire national economic complex, the turning of it from predominantly a raw material focus to producing highly finished product needed for people and on this basis the more rapid growth of aggregate product and national income created in the republic.

Uzbekistan is rich in natural raw material resources. All of them—the land, water, forests and underground wealth—should comprise the inalienable property of the republic. But a person is wrong if he feels that the needs and requirements of a rapidly growing population can only be fully satisfied by the senseless use of natural riches.

In the first place, we must not treat irresponsibly our natural resources a majority of which are not replenishable. Certainly this is not only a heritage which was bequeathed to us from our fathers and grandfathers, but also a priceless legacy which has been given to us on behalf of future generations. A legacy which we should keep and add to in order to pass it on to our children and grandchildren with a clear conscience and a feeling of performed duty.

Secondly, all world experience shows that no people, no nation alone can provide stable prosperity merely by selling raw materials. For a certain time, it is possible to grow rich in supplying a market with gas and metal, copper and silk cocoons. But in the long run, bankruptcy inevitably awaits such an economy. True prosperity and a rise in the standard of living are provided only by productive, highly skilled labor which in a thrifty and

rational manner employs the natural resources and increases their value many fold.

For this reason, our main path is to increase the processing of all the natural riches in the republic including cotton and metal, silk and gas, fruits, vegetables and other products. And this is impossible without the development of scientific- and labor-intensive types of production and by raising the skills of the personnel and all strata of workers.

Here of decisive significance is a consistent conversion of our economy to new, unusual methods of management and control, as well as mixed forms of property and commodity-market relations.

Inextricably linked to a restructuring of the national economy is a solution to the most acute, most painful problem which is of primary, economic, social and political significance, namely, providing rational employment for the population and sufficient stable earnings for each worker.

This question is so acute that for solving it here we must follow not a single but rather multiple paths, using not one but diverse opportunities. This includes developing traditional types of production considering the historical and national features, the psychology and way of life of the population and including folk trades and crafts. This means the establishing in the rayon centers and rural localities, small enterprises, affiliates and shops, the processing of agricultural products using various forms of the organization of labor including the incomplete workday and week, home labor and others. Of course, this is also the creation and development of new types of production which meet the current level of science and technology and without which a solution to the problem of employment and national and social progress as a whole are simply impossible.

These and other large-scale tasks can only be successfully carried out on the basis of a further broadening and deepening of production, scientific-technical and cultural ties with all the republics and economic regions of the nation and by the development of economic, scientific-technical and cultural mutually advantageous ties also with foreign partner countries.

Economic independence is not self-isolation, not the return to a barter economy as this would run contrary to all world experience of mankind. Economic independence is the maximum use of the natural, economic, demographic and other features and opportunities of the republic for equal, mutually advantageous collaboration in the aim of accelerating the republic's development and raising the people's standard of living.

Increasing the prosperity of the workers and all strata of the population, satisfying the needs and requests of the people and accelerated development in the social sphere are a matter of particular concern and daily attention for all republic state bodies and for myself personally as the Uzbek President.

We can no longer tolerate a situation where one of the largest republics possessing very rich, truly unique natural, climatic resource capabilities is in one of the last places in the USSR in terms of the level of per capita income, consumption of food and daily necessities, the supply of housing, public education, public health, trade, social-domestic and cultural facilities. The problem of the Aral has developed into an ecological disaster for the Karakalpak ASSR as a whole for Uzbekistan and for the entire Central Asian Region and fundamental measures are required to improve the ecological and health situation.

Man, the satisfying of his needs and requirements and his complete physical and spiritual development from now on always should be at the center of all national-state and socioeconomic policy in the republic.

As you know, we are already taking the first major step in this direction. This involves an increase in the farmstead plots for the private subsidiary farms and the individual construction for rural residents, increased loans allocated for these purposes and the sale of building materials. This meant the additional payments introduced last year for the cotton harvest and the total of these at present has more than doubled. This is the question of revising prices for cotton and other agricultural products and this question has been raised before the national government and has been received with understanding and ultimately carried out. This means major measures to reconstruct the municipal economy of our republic's capital, Tashkent, and a number of the republic's oblast centers and towns and the social reorganizing of the countryside. This means free meals for young schoolchildren, the additional supply of high-quality food products for ailing pregnant women, increased pensions for veterans, expenditures for the support of disabled and single elderly citizens in boarding homes. This means compensation for students who are forced to live in private apartments due to the shortage of dormitories.

We are confronted with great plans and very promising studies aimed at improving the life of the people. These have been set out in the election platform of the Uzbek CP and this I fully share. As Uzbek President, I see my main duty in ensuring the unconditional and ubiquitous execution of the social programs adopted in the republic and aimed at establishing all the necessary conditions for the life support of people.

This involves improved food and commodity supply for all strata of the public, higher incomes for poorly-off families, concern for the youth, the veterans and our women, providing all population points with normal drinking water and gas, as well as improving the ecological and social situation. I feel that the activities of the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, all the soviet, state and economic bodies, the public organizations and the labor collectives should be subordinate to this, first of all.

Under conditions of great difficulties and shortages, it is particularly intolerable to have embezzlement, extortion, speculation and crime which exacerbate the already difficult situation of the people. The will of the people on these questions is unanimous: strengthen the struggle and declare real war against crime and any encroachments on the life and dignity, the property and labor earnings of the citizens. As President, I vow to take decisive measures to strengthen legality, law and order in the republic.

One of the main areas of activity for the President, for the party, soviet and state bodies of the republic is the all-round spiritual development of the people, the physical and moral improvement of man.

The problems of the spiritual development of the people and each man demand a particularly attentive, sensitive and anticipatory approach. In this most delicate and complicated sphere of human life, a primitive dogmatism and social demagoguery, the artificial abandoning of the priceless riches of national culture and traditions and common human spiritual values would cause irrecoverable loss. Our work to rectify the situation should be all the broader and more purposeful.

What, in my view, are the main problems and the ways for resolving them?

First of all, to return to the sources, to the vital springs of national culture, the people's spiritual riches and traditions. Over the centuries the people have selected these piece by piece and have honed permanent spiritual values. And truly invaluable treasurehouses have been built up. They have withstood the testing of the ages and in any adversity these have served and do serve as a moral support of man. And we must protect and add to them carefully but not with hurried and cheap forgeries but rather the authentic values of the highest quality.

It is not in words but in deeds that we must guarantee each person freedom of conscience and civil respect for the spiritual choice of each man. As President, I intend to work closely with all who contribute to the cause of the moral upbringing of people as well as to peace-making and charitable activities.

Another problem is the developed material-technical base for education and culture including schools, libraries, houses and palaces of culture, theaters, people's philharmonics and much else that is essential for the full spiritual life of man. We have long skimmed on culture and have approached it from the standpoint of the residual principle. But life has persuasively shown that nothing costs a society more than such "savings." Culture, education and sports should be given a priority line in all our plans. Their strong physical plant is that well-tended soil on which a garden of culture can only grow up and blossom.

Of course, these are the personnel of culture, the persons bearing the people the light of knowledge and spirituality. These are the teachers and physicians, the specialists in all sectors and the workers of the cultural and educational institutions, this is the intelligentsia in the broad sense of the word. Here a special role belongs to the scientific and creative intelligentsia, the creators of spiritual riches. Concern for them and the creation of all the essential material and moral conditions for them to fruitfully carry out their high mission are the duty and obligation of all the republic state and economic bodies.

Finally, the most important thing is a careful, attentive, sensitive attitude for the spiritual development of the coming generation and for adding to the intellectual potential of the people. It is essential that each child have access to cultural values. It is extremely important to find and support talented young people and create conditions for the development of their abilities. We see our moral, if you wish, paternal duty in providing an opportunity for the most capable of our youth to study and work in the best educational and scientific institutions, both in our nation and abroad. For these purposes, we will spare no money, including foreign exchange. I am confident that such an approach would be supported by the republic deputy corps and by all the people.

One other thing. It is essential to protect both the youth and the elderly against all that insults their moral feelings and contradicts the spiritual principles and popular concepts of decency. People are seriously concerned by the fact that under the cover of glasnost a murky flow of cheap pseudoculture, license and dissoluteness has begun to gather strength in art and in the mass information media. The powers of the President and the people's deputies should be fully utilized to block the path to what destroys humanism and moral principals.

A solution to all these problems is possible only by the further development of democracy, authentic rule of the soviets, the establishing of a state under the law, the strengthening of discipline and order, a deepening of perestroika in the party and the consolidating of all the healthy forces in the republic for the sake of its national and social progress. Begun upon the initiative of the party and enthusiastically picked up by all the people, revolutionary perestroika opens up broad and unprecedented opportunities for this.

In relying on and counting on close collaboration with the commissions of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the entire republic deputy corps, I intend to firmly carry out a policy of establishing a state under the law in the nation and the republic and unconditional respect for and subordination to the law. This is all the more important as our republic and our people have suffered greatly from tyranny and illegality during the years of repression under the cult of personality as well as in recent times. I promise to firmly protect civil rights and the dignity of each republic citizen, wherever encroachments on these rights occur.

I see one of the most important tasks of presidential rule in the further all-round development of democracy. The decisions of the February and March Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, the bringing up for national discussion of the drafts of the new Platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th Party Congress and the new CPSU Bylaws, the amendments in the 6th and 7th Articles of the USSR Constitution introduced upon the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee and adopted by the Third Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies and analogous amendments in the Uzbek Constitution open up new broad opportunities for this.

At the same time, I feel it necessary to emphasize with all certainty that democracy does not mean anarchy and glasnost does not mean permissiveness. You are all well aware of what concern and alarm the people are showing over the increased crime rate, the attempts of antisocial forces to destabilize the situation, to evoke social and interethnic possibility and mass disorders. You also are well aware of what all this costs and what victims, destruction and upsets are entailed.

For this reason, in carrying out the will of the predominant majority of workers, peasants and intelligentsia in the republic, of persons of all social groups, ages and nationalities, you and I together will firmly carry out a policy of strengthening discipline and order, thwarting all antisocial manifestations threatening the political underpinnings of society, the life, honor and dignity of the citizens.

In the current difficult turning point, we, as never before, must have a consolidation of all the republic's healthy forces. The Uzbek CP, its Central Committee and the party committees and organizations on the spot have served and in the future will be the ideological and organizational center for such a drawing together. With all the errors of the past and the shortcomings of the present, at the present stage there is no other force capable of uniting all the strata of society and directing the efforts of the masses at a revolutionary perestroika and renewal of society. The Communist Party is the most influential force in the republic and it holds a majority of the mandates in the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and in the local republic soviets.

As first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, I want to assure the deputies and all the workers that the republic party organizations will decisively purge themselves of the errors and deformations of the past and will fundamentally reorganize their activities. They are seeking new ties with all the mass organizations of the workers, including the trade unions, Komsomol, other social organizations and movements, including the informal ones.

Proof of this is the Ninth Plenum of the CP Central Committee held yesterday and which discussed the results of the February and March Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and outlined an extensive program for preparing for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 22d

Uzbek CP Congress. Its motto is a critical analysis of our own activities, democratization and glasnost of domestic party life and the strengthening of ties with the masses. This will create a good basis for unifying all the social forces in the republic.

Comrades! Allow me to state again that I view my powers as Uzbek President as a duty and responsibility before the people and before the republic. I will do everything within my power for the republic's flourishing, for the well-being of the people and for the further prosperity of our home Uzbekistan in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples.

Supsov Chairman on Constitutional Changes

90US0894C Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Mar 90 p 2

[Report by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, Deputy M.I. Ibragimov of the Draft Uzbek Law on Establishing the Post of Uzbek President and Incorporating Amendments and Supplements Into the Uzbek Constitution (Basic Law)]

[Text] Comrade people's deputies! Our session is to discuss the Draft Uzbek Law "On Establishing the Post of Uzbek President and Incorporating Amendments and Supplements Into the Uzbek Constitution."

As is known, recently the Extraordinary Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies completed its work. The Congress showed how rapidly our society is developing. Under the conditions of revolutionary perestroika, the nation in months has covered a distance which would have required years under conditions of evolutionary development.

Having thoroughly analyzed the processes occurring in the nation, the Congress worked out decisions which are of exceptionally important, fundamental significance. Amendments have been incorporated in the USSR Constitution and these involve the political and economic bases of the nation. The new wording of Articles 6 and 7 of the USSR Constitution as adopted by the Congress upon the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee opens up broad opportunities for the further democratization of social life, for the furthering of pluralism and for the involvement of the masses of people in managing the affairs of society. The equality of the Communist and other political parties, public organizations and mass movements has been strengthened as well as the readiness of the CPSU for a constructive dialogue with all political forces standing on positions of socialism and revolutionary perestroika.

In an atmosphere of broad creative discussion, the Congress of People's Deputies adopted a Law on Establishing the Post of USSR President with the President being the superior official in the USSR who brings together the activities of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.

As was pointed out at the Congress, presidential power should serve the renovation of the Soviet Republic and play a major positive role in strengthening the sovereignty of the republics, protecting their territorial integrity and constitutional rights as well as effectively settling arising interethnic disputes and conflicts.

The decisions adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies thus touch on the fundamental principals of the constitutional structure of the USSR and involve the vital interests of all Soviet republics.

The first session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet must review a number of sections and articles in the republic Constitution in order to bring them into conformity with the updated USSR Constitution and introduce the post of Uzbek President. It is a question primarily of providing on the constitutional level the necessary guarantees for the protection of the rights and liberties of the republic citizens and the accelerated development of its economy and the social sphere.

The Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet has prepared the appropriate draft law. You have it. As is seen from the draft, the amendments contained in it in the Uzbek Constitution involve establishing the post of Uzbek President.

The proposal to introduce presidential power was also made by the USSR People's Deputies. With each passing day, it is becoming evermore obvious that for implementing the planned measures to carry out the economic and political reform and to stabilize the consumer market as well as strengthen legality, law and order, it is essential to have an effective management mechanism making it possible to overcome irresponsibility, inefficiency and the manifestations of group selfishness. All these negative phenomena in the course of disassembling the administrative-command system have told in a most lethal manner on the fulfillment of production quotas, on the level of discipline and organization and in a number of instances have led to the destabilizing of the sociopolitical situation and to a revival of antipere-stroyka attitudes. Such phenomena are particularly dangerous under the conditions of the precipitous politization of the masses, and the absence in many persons of the habits of resolving arising conflicts by a civilized, democratic manner.

In this situation of primary significance is the full restoring of the authority of power, organizing effective, active control in society and the state and ensuring the precise and unswerving execution of the law by each enterprise, organization and citizen.

This is why we must consider as fully timely the question of establishing the post of republic President and granting him the powers of the head of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. The introduction of presidential power in Uzbekistan will be a reliable guarantee for the irreversibility of the perestroyka processes, for accelerating the development of the economy and culture, for

the democratizing and humanizing of our society and for strengthening state and public order.

At the same time, I would like to emphasize that in establishing the post of republic President is an important step along the path to a clearer delimitation of legislative, executive and judicial power and to a substantial rise in the effectiveness of each of them. One cannot help but consider that the importance of strong presidential power which consolidates all social forces in the long run will rise even more in keeping with the further deepening of the processes of democratization, the introduction of self-governing principals and the economic independence of the enterprises and regions.

The establishing of presidential power in our republic is occurring in a difficult situation. Perestroyka and glasnost have disclosed numerous complex and overlooked problems in the development of the national economy and in creating the necessary living conditions for the public. On this basis there have been instances of a destabilizing of the sociopolitical situation in individual regions, and there have been more numerous instances of the violating of legality, including on an interethnic basis. The people demand an immediate thwarting of instances of speculation, violations in trade, in the allocating of housing and scarce commodities and in ensuring the protection of the life and health of people, order and discipline. All of this requires a solution to the question of introducing the post of President immediately. Submitted for your review is the proposal that as an exception the first Uzbek President be elected by the republic Supreme Soviet at the given session.

In the future, as is seen from the draft law, the Uzbek President will be elected by the republic citizens for 5 years by universal, equal and direct elections with secret balloting. The republic President cannot be a people's deputy. In assuming his post, the President takes an oath at a session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet.

The President acts as the guarantor for the observance of the rights and liberties of the Uzbek citizens as well as the Uzbek Constitution and laws. He represents the Uzbek SSR within the nation and in international relations. The draft law offered for your attention regulates in detail the powers of the Uzbek President which are essential for realizing the complex and responsible functions entrusted to him. He is empowered to sign the Uzbek laws and in the appropriate instances to return the draft laws to the Uzbek Supreme Soviet with his arguments for a repeat discussion or voting. If the Supreme Soviet by a two-thirds majority confirms a decision previously adopted by it, the President signs the law. The President can halt the action of governmental decisions in instances when these do not correspond to the constitutional requirements and laws.

Another group of powers concerns the forming of the state bodies of the republic. The President submits to the Uzbek Supreme Soviet for appointment, confirmation or election the candidates of chairman of the Uzbek

Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Uzbek People's Control Committee, the chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Court and the Uzbek Chief State Arbiter. The Uzbek Supreme Soviet will dismiss these officials, with the exception of the chairman of the Supreme Court, from the positions held also upon the request of the Uzbek President.

Other functions will also be assigned the President. These include the presentation and awarding of honorific titles of the Uzbek SSR, the solving of questions concerning admission to Uzbek citizenship, the granting of shelter as well as the granting of pardons for citizens condemned by Uzbek courts.

Important state functions are to be granted to the Presidential Council the members of which are to be appointed by the President. The chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers is a member due to his position. The chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the Karakalpak Supreme Soviet can also participate in the council sessions.

Thus, there is every reason to assume that the Presidential Council will be given a very important role in carrying out the course outlined by the leading republic bodies, and in resolving questions of economic and social development, interethnic and any other conflict in an efficient, energetic and competent manner.

Comrade people's deputies! You obviously have noticed that a special chapter of the Uzbek Constitution is to be devoted to the President. This outlines the procedure for the election of the President, his powers and responsibility as well as relations with other state bodies. The core of these powers is that the president must ensure close interaction of the superior state and administrative bodies. Such coordinating activities by the President will be one of his key functions and this will make it possible to raise significantly the efficient work of all our state mechanisms.

In line with establishing the post of Uzbek President, there will be a substantial change in the legal status of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. The republic Supreme Soviet will work under the leadership of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and concentrate on legislative activities and supervising its subordinate bodies. As for the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, it will be made responsible for organizing the work of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, preparing the sessions of the Supreme Soviet, and coordinating the activities of its standing commissions. Moreover, the Presidium is to be responsible for organizing the national discussions of draft laws and other major questions of state life.

The membership of the Presidium will be changed. The Presidium membership will include the deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet and the chairmen of the standing commissions.

Thus, the introduction of the institution of a presidency in our republic is an organic part in improving statehood

in a period when perestroika has entered its most acute phase. Establishing the post of Uzbek President undoubtedly will become a means for decisively raising the effectiveness of the entire mechanism of power, stability, legality, law and order.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that establishing the post of Uzbek President in no way means strengthening a regime of personal power.

The draft law states in detail the rights and powers of the Supreme Soviet, the Uzbek Constitutional Oversight Committee and these represent a mechanism of restraint and counterweight for presidential power.

The Supreme Soviet remains the legislative body and the government is the executive one. The President will be the strong link connecting legislative and executive power. It can be said that presidential power is being instituted primarily so that the promulgated laws and decrees are actively carried out and in order that these work and not remain on paper.

With the instituting of the post of President, the republic government will begin to work much more efficiently. Its responsibility will be increased for the results of the measures being carried out. According to the draft law, the Uzbek Council of Ministers will be obliged to report annually to the Uzbek Supreme Soviet on its activities as well as regularly inform the President of these. The Uzbek President appoints the ministers and the chairmen of the republic state committees with the subsequent submission of these decisions for approval by the Uzbek Supreme Soviet. The President is given the right to raise the question of the retirement of the Uzbek Council of Ministers before the Uzbek Supreme Soviet.

Yesterday a plenum was held of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. The plenum unanimously adopted the decision to submit to the Uzbek Supreme Soviet a legislative initiative for amending the wording of Articles 6, 7 and 49 of the Uzbek Constitution and submitted a proposal for establishing the post of Uzbek President.

A decision was taken to record in Article 6 of the Basic Law that the Uzbek Communist Party, other political parties as well as trade union, youth and other social organizations and mass movements through their representatives elected to the soviet as well as in other forms participate in carrying out the policy of the Soviet state and in managing state and public affairs.

It should be pointed out that Article 7 emphasizes that all political parties, social organizations and mass movements, in carrying out the functions outlined in their programs and bylaws, are to operate within the limits of the Uzbek Constitution and Soviet laws.

Particular mention is made of the inadmissibility of establishing and allowing to operate parties, organizations and movements which are aimed at a violent

change in the Soviet constitutional system or the integrity of the socialist state, the undermining of its security or the fanning of social, ethnic and religious hostility.

The adopting of the new wording of Articles 6 and 7 of the Uzbek Constitution fully meets the demands of the times. Their content corresponds fully to the expressed will of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. At the same time, they carry a serious warning for any irresponsible elements endeavoring to support antisocialist positions and which confuse democracy with license, the freedom of expression with anarchy and extremism.

This, comrade people's deputies, is a brief description of the main provisions to be found in the Draft Law "On Establishing the Post of Uzbek President and Incorporating Amendments and Supplements Into the Uzbek Constitution."

Allow me to express confidence that the proposed amendments of the Uzbek Constitution will encounter support from the people's deputies of Uzbekistan, all the labor collectives and citizens and that they will be turned into reality by their efforts. We all see in this the guarantee for the successful carrying out of the complex tasks confronting the republic.

Correspondent Views First Session of Uzbekistan's 'Freely Elected Parliament'

Presidential Election Reported

90US0896A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
27 Mar 90 p1

[Article by I. Khisamov, parliamentary correspondent: "The Parliament and the President"]

[Text] This date, March 24, 1990, will get into the textbooks. On the same day, our republic acquired not one but two crucial democratic institutions. We now have an active freely elected parliament and a President elected by it.

The torrential acceleration of political processes is the challenge of the times and to miss it is to lose. The Supreme Soviet did not wait to be fully staffed. The election campaign has not yet concluded and the struggle for the 37 vacant seats for which some 200 candidates vie is just starting to unfold. But future deputies should not be offended if their 543 colleagues have begun without them. Every day is important and we need forward-looking legislative decisions.

The quick pace set by the first session of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet indicates that the challenge of the times has been accepted. There are 22 issues on the agenda. The government is to be appointed, the program of economic reform discussed, the main directions of attaining republic economic independence defined and proposals on changes and amendments to the USSR law on general military service reviewed. The permanent commissions, as well as the commission for abolishing

privileges and reorganizing perquisites, are to be set up and the Supreme Court, oblast judges, state arbitrator and the committee for people's control elected. All this and much more must be accomplished in a very short time: only 7 or 8 days were budgeted.

The main event of the session has already taken place. Legislative acts on presidency have been passed and the President elected and sworn in. He is Islom Abdugarniyevich Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee.

Among the 15 or so speakers, only 2 expressed doubt about the need for the presidential system; as to the candidacy of the republic's communist leader, it was not challenged. No one nominated alternative candidates either, even though I.A. Karimov proposed this himself.

Events in the auditorium are seen on television and described in the official report. Let us complement the general impression with a few statements by participants gathered during recesses.

"I made my choice without hesitation," said people's deputy Farkhat Mamatov, a Tashkent driver. "We need strong and intelligent authority and worthy representation in the union of republics. I do not see any alternative to I.A. Karimov. In a short time he showed himself to be a decisive and far-sighted leader. Hundreds of thousands of native peasants have welcomed with great joy the decision to allocate and widen plots for private farming and housing. Hundreds of thousands of the nonaffluent got at least some relief after the program of social assistance has been passed. The republic has begun to pay serious attention to the task of promoting ethnic cultures of Uzbekistan's nationalities. All of this clearly shows signs of initiative and active participation by the first secretary of the Central Committee, and now the President of the republic."

The same arguments in support of I.A. Karimov were used by deputy Shavkat Asanovich Akmal Khanov, chairman of the board of the Central Asian branch of the VASKHIL [All-Union Academic Agricultural Scientific Research Laboratory]:

"As to the institution of presidency in our republic," he said, "this is a very pressing issue. The grave economic situation and increased political and interethnic tensions require a competent, decisive and forthcoming form of administration. Presidency should provide it."

"Currently, the transfer of actual economic and administrative power from the party to soviet and executive entities is underway. This is a very complex task. The majority of soviet entities are not yet ready to assume real and effective power. The presidency will help us through this transitional stage with fewer losses."

A large group of USSR people's deputies from our republic are present in the audience, observing the proceedings.

"You have a basis for comparison for this session," I told USSR people's deputy Shavkat Mukhitdinovich Yuldashev, first secretary of the Fergana party obkom.

"I liked the beginning. The discussion is conducted in a lively, active manner. At first sight, one could have thought that the session has returned right where it was in years past, when decisions were passed off the bat. But in this case, I think that the quick pace of work is the result of precise organization. Much has been rightly borrowed from the experience of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The introduction of presidency," continued Sh. Yuldashev, "should not be tied exclusively to the current grave situation and the need for stabilization and recovery. I think it is greatly related to the future creation of a true federation of sovereign republics, which is now being worked on in both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We should build up the independence of and respect for republic power.

"I am certain that it was not sycophancy that kept the deputies from proposing an alternative candidacy when the President was elected. There simply was no other worthy candidate. But I think that this Supreme Soviet will produce a crop of talented politicians, as it happened in the union parliament. In addition, I would propose for the future to specify in the law on electing people's deputies and the President the requirement of nominating at least two candidates."

Would the desire for a strong and active presidency not lead to a situation whereby it becomes the sole real power? Many deputies expressed their firm conviction that it would not. The law on presidency includes an adequate system of safeguards and guarantees to prevent it from degenerating into a regime of autocratic power. The Supreme Soviet keeps its legislative functions, while also retaining full control over all executive entities in the republic. The commission for constitutional oversight, which is being established, will also keep an eye on the legality of presidential actions.

As reported by Gavkhar Ruziyevna Khakimova, an employee of the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the session attracted record-breaking attention from the press. Accreditation was issued to reporters from all republic newspapers and many magazines, correspondents of all central publications, television, radio, cinema and news agencies. Let us also add to this seven journalists who had been elected deputies.

Simultaneous translation of speeches at the session is organized superbly, with speeches delivered in Uzbek, Russian and Karakalpak.

So, the parliament has started its work. Not all is going smoothly yet. There have been speeches which revealed the low level of legal and political literacy of the speakers. For instance, there were statements like "the procuracy must coordinate its every step with the President," "banks must be put under the direct control of

the President," "the President must protect us from cooperatives" and "our parliament has no use for Sobchaks."

Chairmen had to call on their colleagues to be dignified, polite and respectful. In short, the childhood ailments of democracy from which the USSR Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies suffered did not spare our deputies either. They are, apparently, unavoidable in so tender an age and should be suffered through.

Various Issues Raised

90US0896B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
29 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by I. Khisamov, parliamentary correspondent: "The Parliament Learns"]

[Text] "To learn" is a verb that, in many languages and in different contexts, is heard most often in the auditorium of the republic Supreme Soviet. While passing important laws and responsible decisions and discussing complex issues, deputies are simultaneously learning. Some 85 percent of the current parliament have been elected for the first time and have little political and no legislative experience. This shortcoming is only partially remedied by enthusiasm and the ardent desire to be useful to the people.

On its third day, the session heard the report by Sh.-R. Mirsaidov, chairman of the Uzbekistan Council of Ministers.

But most deputies were not prepared to discuss it. Over 70 people signed up for the discussion. Naturally, some were not able to speak. Yet, the speeches that were heard contained little analysis of the report itself. The deputies, who included enterprise and regional leaders, constantly drifted to reporting their own activities, got sidetracked by extensive descriptions of current issues and problems and appealed to the government to improve funding and supplies.

Representatives of native peasantry were very convincing and emotional when they talked about harsh social conditions on the countryside. But what should be done concretely and whether or not the program proposed by the head of the government was good—they mentioned nothing about it in their speeches.

Deputy Burkhan Aliyev, head of Glavtashkentstoy's DSK [Housing Construction Cooperative] No. 2, could be right when he said it was difficult to discuss the report without preparation and proposed to study it first in commissions and only then submit it to a plenary meeting. Especially since the session's schedule allocated time for work in commissions. However, that proposal was not put on vote.

"We got no time to work on the documents," complained deputy Aleksandr Yershov, an Almalyk repairman, during a recess between meetings. "At first glance, the government program seems interesting. The

republic needs economic independence. It is not a goal in and of itself, but a means for restoring order in the economy. Relations with the center and other republics and regions must be based on reciprocal agreements."

"I liked the speech," said deputy Zhumbay Kozokov, deputy chairman of the kolkhoz "Kommunizm" in Khorezm Oblast. "It stressed the most important things that trouble our people: the struggle against unemployment, the distribution of land to peasants, improvements in the living standard and health care."

"A review of purchasing prices for agricultural goods is long overdue. Moreover, we have had enough of being raw materials appendix. In our kolkhoz alone, there are 4,500 unemployed. How to support them? We have built a canning plant and a brick factory. But this is too little and we need major investments and a government program. A decisive approach by the head of the government to these issues gives us hope."

"At this session, you will have to discuss another important issue, the proposals on changes and amendments to the USSR law 'On General Compulsory Military Service'. Why the urgency of this issue?" we asked deputy Vladimir Makhmudov, the Uzbek SSR military commissioner.

"We need new approaches to strengthening defense. The readiness of young people for military service must be improved considerably. We must pay more attention to ethnic and regional differences. Why is it that many Uzbek kids wind up in construction units? They are poorly prepared physically and have little knowledge of Russian. These problems must get much more attention. Every nationality is interested in the well-being of its young people and this should not be ignored."

"Will we ever have a professional army?"

"Our armed forces are already 40 percent professional. One out of four servicemen is an officer. Plus ensigns and other specialists. But to make the army fully professional we will need enormous funds, which the country does not have. I think that two principles, the extraterritoriality of the armed forces and universal draft, must be retained."

"Everything costs money," objected deputy Vladimir Dzhaniybekov, USSR cosmonaut and twice hero of the Soviet Union. "Uzbekistan must get vast investments to set up centers for military training and improve fitness and athletic work. As to construction units, they should be removed from the armed forces."

In the coming days, we will hear the opinion of the Supreme Soviet as well.

Cabinet Formation Reviewed

90US0896C Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
31 Mar 90 p 1

[Article by I.Khisamov, parliamentary correspondent: "The Parliament Tests the Government"]

[Text] The republic's Supreme Soviet devoted three working days to the task of forming the cabinet. It was the first time that candidates for high government positions had to take this test.

First they came before members of permanent commissions who thoroughly examined programs and credentials of candidates and questioned them in detail. Next day, the full Supreme Soviet became the testing board.

The first surprise was that the parliament blocked the candidacy of B.G.Alimdzhonov for justice minister which had been proposed by the Council of Ministers Chairman and approved by permanent commissions. His foes objected to his insufficient, in their view, independence in judgements and actions.

I had an impression that some deputies did not have a clear notion of the functions of the Justice Ministry. The office seeker, who has headed that agency for several years, was deluged with complaints about shortcomings of various laws and regulations. Yet, this is the responsibility of the Supreme Soviet itself, the legislator. The responsibility of the Justice Ministry is to see that the laws are implemented. Attempts were made to explain this to the deputies by I.A.Karimov, the republic President, and Sh.R.Mirsaidov, Council of Ministers Chairman. But the Supreme Soviet remained obstinate, and the candidacy was rejected by 282 votes to 139.

Quite understandable was the passion in the debate that followed the nomination of R.A.Giniyatullin for land reclamation and water resources minister. Water resources is one of the crisis points of the republic. The tragedy of the Aral Sea and the growing shortage of water combined with wasteful use troubled the deputies. The Supreme Soviet recognized the high professionalism of the office seeker and approved the program of action which he proposed.

"Being examined in the Supreme Soviet was very useful to me," said Rim Abdulovich in a conversation with us. "After the discussion at the commission I made a note of some 20 new issues that will have to be addressed. Deputies helped me develop a broader view of the problems we will have to tackle. In addition, a leader who has the support of the Supreme Soviet behind him has greater freedom of action and self-assurance. And yes, it raises the burden of responsibility, too."

"Today, one deputy cited articles in the press charging that you intend to use all the water saved not to save Aral but to put more land into cultivation."

"I brought the issue of PRAVDA VOSTOKA in which the article was published. It says that 700,000 babies are

born in this republic every year and that the population is growing rapidly. We need water to feed it and to increase food production. I had also raised the issue of the need to revive the project to divert some water from Siberian rivers to our region. In short, the accusation of the deputy is unfounded. On the whole, however, I want to stress once again that the discussion was very useful."

People's deputy Vyacheslav Sergeyevich Krupin, director general of the "Navonazot" complex, had a different opinion of the proceedings:

"Today, we have heard many empty speeches and incompetent statements," he said. "Was it not funny, for example, to hear one of my colleagues criticize the health care minister for the fact that a fuel ration has been set for medical transport? Was it the minister's own initiative? Of course it is awful that ambulances stand idle for lack of fuel, but is the health care ministry to blame for this? There were too many such statements. We still lack professional qualifications. But I think that we will acquire them in time. The desire is there."

"The subject of republic economic independence emerged as one of the major ones at the session. But in some speeches, the idea had a slant toward self-sufficiency and autarchy."

"This is true and it is unacceptable. It is not smart. We can deprive ourselves of many benefits stemming from the division of labor. On the contrary, we must develop trade and encourage everyone to do so. Last year, our complex sold 40,000 tons of saltpeter ammonia to China, getting consumer goods in return. We supplied fertilizers to Pavlodar and Naberezhnyye Chelny and got buses and KamAZ trucks, respectively. We must foster such ties and not cut them."

"I was not happy with the speech by finance minister Yi. Mamatikayev. It does not look like this agency actively seeks financial reserves. There are plenty of them. Here is one example. In Navoi, many large enterprises have their own firefighting crews, with many employees and vehicles. But the city is small, with only 100,000 residents. A single service should be established, reducing expenditures many times over all at once. And as a result, we would get funds for health care. There are thousands of such cases of irrational management practices. We must look for them. We must be more active in converting enterprises and I have talked about it to the commission. Conversion will be an added source of funds and goods."

This correspondent had been to congresses of USSR people's deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They were similar to our republic' forum. Unfortunately, mistakes were repeated as well. For instance, when the government was being approved in Moscow, some deputies demanded that alternative candidates be proposed. There was a long and heated debate before they realized a simple truth: one can not ask the head of the government to propose an alternative to his own

team. If a candidate is unacceptable, the case should be referred back to the commission for review.

This was repeated here, too. Apparently, some of our deputies did not study the experience of the union parliament. Otherwise, many errors could have been avoided, and time wasted on empty arguments could have been saved. And one more thing. The atmosphere at the session is generally businesslike, calm and polite. It was all the more unsettling, therefore, to hear statements like: "these positions should go to representatives of one nationality," or "we need only leaders born in Uzbekistan." Is it worth even commenting on these? Voters have the right to expect statesmanship of their deputies.

Conclusions Reported

90US0896D Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
3 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by I.Khisamov, parliamentary correspondent: "The Mirror of Society"]

[Text] **The first session of the first Uzbek parliament has concluded. Broadcast in full, it became something greater: a popular debate was held on the subject: how to live in the future and how to cast off the unfathomable burden of problems weighing on society's shoulders?**

The session gave us the President, the government and the judiciary—all the institutions of democratic administration. It passed the program to heal the economy and gain republic economic independence. But another result, too, is hard to overestimate. In a few short days, people learned much more about their leaders and representatives, and about their political and human qualities, than in all the previous years.

Sociology has a term representativity. It derives from the same root as representation and means desire to cover views of as broad a layer of the society as possible. The Supreme Soviet we have elected, despite its imperfections, provides rather full representativity for the first time. Society saw its exact and unretouched reflection, recognizing its merits and, alas, shortcomings.

"When making legal decisions, what position do you take: democratic or conservative?" someone asked a candidate to the Supreme Court. The way of putting the question betrays acute legal illiteracy of the deputy who asked it. The judge upholds neither the democratic nor conservative position. He must have only one position, the law. As to how progressive the law itself will be is up to deputies themselves and no one else.

"In general, the first meeting of the parliament was a success," Shavkat Zakariyevich Urazayev, doctor of legal sciences, elected at the session chairman of the committee for constitutional oversight, told me. "Important issues were raised, plurality of opinions was admitted and we saw that the deputies are interested in improving the situation in the republic. But you are right, lack of qualifications and legislative experiences

among most deputies tells; the parliament is short of professional lawyers and economists. This complicates our work, and will continue to do so, of course. We have seen attempts to solve issues first and build a legal foundation later."

One of the questions I asked Sh.Z.Urazayev dealt with the functions and organizational structure of the new institution in this republic, the committee for constitutional oversight.

"Thus far, I am the only person on it. The committee is yet to be staffed. There is much to be done. We pass an enormous number of laws and regulations which contradict one another and sometimes even the Constitution. These contradictions must be eliminated and not allowed in the future, of course."

The session formed 16 permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet, covering the entire spectrum of economic, social and political problems of the republic. The commissions will carry out the bulk of the parliament's law drafting work.

"Unfortunately, commissions were formed mainly on the basis of resumes," said Professor Viktor Ivanovich Krovoruchko, deputy chairman of the permanent commission on issues of environment and rational use of natural resources and director of the hygiene and environment department of the Samarkand medical college. "But this is only the beginning."

"The government program submitted to the deputies at the session raised environmental issues but no actual ways solve them were mentioned. It could not have been otherwise. Not only the republic but the country as a whole lacks an organization dealing with environmental issues."

"And what about the State Committee on Nature?"

"It deals with nature, not human beings. Human beings are the concern of the sanitation and epidemics service. What we need, however, is a single agency to assume the responsibility for the entire range of issues related to the environment, its impact on humans and vice versa. The country lacks also an organization specializing in building facilities to protect nature. In short, we talk much about the environment but deeds are few."

"I have recently had a discussion with a colleague, cosmonaut Vladimir Dzhanibekov. He said that he will soon submit to our commission a package of 20 maps of Uzbekistan made with the help of air and space probes. We had the idea to superimpose them on the map detailing the incidence of various diseases in the republic which we have drawn. It should be a very interesting social and environmental atlas, providing useful data for developing legislative concepts about the environment."

The deputy is a discrete political unit. Each represents tens of thousands of voters and his own position and platform on which he fought the election campaign to

come into parliament. Why is it then that we so frequently saw what experts call the mass consciousness syndrome at the first session? Why did the audience so passionately and uniformly raged against speeches by some or applauded others?

"We saw this at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies and at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet," said USSR people's deputy Vladimir Petrovich Zolotukhin. "But members of the union parliament have already learned the rules of parliamentary conduct. I am certain that the deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet will learn them too. The deputies should soon realize that they represent the interests of the entire republic and even the country. One wished to see more attention paid to candidates' programs when the government was approved, and less to making them commit themselves to providing goods for particular districts."

"In my opinion, the session did not do sufficient work on issues related to the draft law. This extremely complex issue was resolved on the spot, without specialists being consulted. And one more thing. The USSR Supreme Soviet committee on defense and state security is almost ready with the draft law on defense. In April it should be put before the session. Many issues which were so hotly debated here were taken care of in the draft law, including alternative service and reduced term of active duty. The deputies of the republic parliament should have been informed about it and a number of issues would have been obviated."

"It is also sad," continued V.Zolotukhin, "that mutual recriminations were traded by servicemen and civilians. The latter accused the military of disorder and other vices while the former complained that young people were poorly brought up. Who needs this? In any country, the entire nation always takes care of the armed forces and, instead of passing around blame, we must look for solutions together."

Uzbek Council of Ministers Reviews Economy

90US0927B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
28 Apr 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A meeting of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers on 20 April reviewed the results of fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Uzbek SSR and the State Budget of the republic for the first quarter of 1990 and measures for the further development of economic reform, as well as reports on the work of the Tashkent and Fergana Oblast Executive Committees on this issue. It was noted that the social realignment of the economy of the republic and the implementation of measures aimed at improving the well-being of the people made it possible to somewhat reduce the mounting socio-political tension.

However, individual favorable changes in the national economy of the republic are not radical in nature.

It was stressed at the meeting of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers that the situation in spheres associated with improving the life of the populace gives rise to special alarm. A trend toward a decline in social production persists. The imbalance in the plan for production of consumer goods came to R343 million. The commissioning of housing, general schools, hospitals, and communal facilities, and a plan for the sale of consumer services are in arrears.

The Council of Ministers of the republic assessed organizational activities accordingly and obligated the top leaders of ministries, offices, the Karakalpak ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], oblast ispolkoms [executive committees], the Tashkent City Ispolkom, and associations and enterprises reporting to the union to take specific measures to ensure the definite fulfillment of the plan for the first half of 1990.

It was suggested that the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Trade and the Uzbek Union of Consumer Cooperatives, in cooperation with the ispolkoms of local soviets, ensure the complete receipt of the allocations of consumer goods granted, and take advantage as much as possible of all opportunities for drawing the resources of merchandise into circulation.

The republic Council of Ministers charged the Uzbek SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Trade, the Uzbek SSR State Co-op for Agriculture, and the Uzbek Union of Consumer Cooperatives with developing proposals for organizing barter trade in consumer goods with other regions of the country.

It was also indicated at the meeting that no shifts have occurred in solving the foodstuffs problem. The availability of city vegetables to the population of the City of Tashkent and other cities has deteriorated. Procurement organizations have not ensured the signing of contracts for the acquisition of farm products and raw materials. Sewing of all types of agricultural crops is behind schedule.

In the course of the discussion, the attention of the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, oblast ispolkoms, the Uzbek SSR State Co-op for Agriculture, the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Water Management, the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Refinery Products, the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin Central Asian Division, and the Association "Uzsortsemovoshch" was drawn to the need to complete spring field work within a short period of time and to speed up the implementation of practical measures for supplying fodder to the personal auxiliary farmsteads of kolkhoz [collective farm] members, sovkhoz [state farm] workers, and other citizens, as well as for selling them young breeding cattle and poultry, agricultural machinery, and fertilizer.

Speakers noted that no change for the better has occurred since the beginning of the year in the construction complex of the republic.

Construction ministries and offices have failed to utilize more than R104 million in capital investment and to perform R57.3 million worth of construction and assembly work.

In conjunction with this, the Council of Ministers recognized the work of the customer ministries and offices, construction ministries and contractor organizations, the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, the oblast ispolkoms, and the Tashkent City Ispolkom on fulfilling the plan for capital construction to be unsatisfactory and obligated them to make up for the arrears which were allowed to occur in the first half of the year. The republic banks were instructed to analyze the debts which were incurred by customers and contractors and take measures to settle them. The Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, the Bukhara, Samarkand, Surkhandarya, Syrdarya, Fergana, and Khorezm Oblast Ispolkoms were notified that their concern for the organization of individual housing construction had diminished.

The State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, the State Co-op for Agriculture, the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Refinery Products, and other supply and sale organizations were instructed to take exhaustive measures to improve material-technical supplies.

The financial organs of the republic which have failed to ensure the efficient operation of the economic mechanism were criticized sharply. It was stressed in the speeches that the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Finance, banks, ministries, offices, and enterprises have not taken exhaustive measures in order to implement a program of financial reinvigoration. About R4 billion in proprietary and borrowed funds are not used continuously in effective economic circulation in the republic. The Uzbek State Bank needs to reinforce its control over the circulation of currency, turnaround of credit, repayment of loans, and the issuance of cash to cooperatives.

The resolution adopted charged the heads of ministries, offices, the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, and the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies with stepping up the fight against mismanagement and abuse, putting the rational disbursement of funds in order, and ensuring the fulfillment of profit (income) plans and contributions to the state budget.

The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Finance and the banks of the republic were instructed to more stringently monitor the correct use of proprietary and borrowed funds by enterprises and organizations and to resolutely bring to an end the incidence of unsatisfactory use of the loans issued by applying to them economic measures.

The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers indicated that the ispolkoms of local soviets of Tashkent and Fergana Oblasts put in place measures aimed at implementing

the economic reform slowly and do not ensure the comprehensive development of their territories. The oblast ispolkoms have no specific programs for resolving acute social issues and display no due persistence in implementing the plans of economic and social development. The principles of social justice are not actually implemented in various subdivisions of the oblasts.

The resolution noted that the Tashkent and Fergana Oblast Ispolkoms perform insufficient organizational work on the economic and social development of the oblasts, slowly reform the style and methods of work of rayon and city executive committees on exercising the extensive rights and opportunities given to them for the comprehensive development of their territories. A report by G. Fazylov, chairman of the Fergana Oblast Ispolkom, was found to be unsatisfactory. The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers obligated him to take urgent measures to eliminate the shortcomings found in his work.

The Tashkent and Fergana Oblast Ispolkoms were instructed to develop specific measures to radically improve the operation of local organs of power, taking into consideration the discussion of their work at the meeting of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

Uzbek SSR President I.A. Karimov spoke at the meeting of the Council of Ministers. He stressed that, in summing up first quarter operations the government should pay more attention to analyzing the shortcomings and problems which interfere with the advancement of the republic. He pointed out the need to tap the reserves available, and to reinforce discipline, organization, and order in all branches of the national economy.

I.A. Karimov demanded that the Council of Ministers and the ispolkoms of the local soviets unconditionally carry out the government program, especially in resolving the key issues associated with improving the well-being of the people, providing aid to low-income, sick, and elderly citizens, speeding up housing construction, and providing water and gas to settlements.

The president of the republic set the government the task of beginning preparatory work for transition to a market economy, to which end the system of social protection of the populace, especially its socially vulnerable strata, families with many children, students, retirees, and low-income employees, needs to be clearly laid out.

In conjunction with these instructions, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers entrusted the Gosplan, central economic organs, ministries and offices of the republic, the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, oblast ispolkoms, and the Tashkent City Ispolkom with taking specific measures to carry out the government program, standing orders from the voters, proposals and remarks of people's deputies made at the first session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, and to take them into account in working out plans for economic and social development for 1991 and subsequent years.

It was suggested that, given a radical economic reform, the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences direct its efforts toward finding new avenues of scientific and technical development for the republic. The interaction of scientific establishments and divisions with economic sectors and regions in the course of examining and solving in practice the most significant problems of improving the standard of living of the populace is necessary.

A report by the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Ispolkom of the city of Tashkent on the implementation of the Uzbek SSR Law "On the State Language of the Uzbek SSR" was presented at a meeting of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which was held on the same day. It was noted that additional measures for its practical implementation are necessary.

The ministries and offices of the republic, oblast ispolkoms, and rayon and city ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies were instructed to review the course of fulfillment of the state program for implementation of the Uzbek SSR Law "On the State Language of the Uzbek SSR" and determine the forms and methods of work for the propaganda of learning and knowing the Uzbek language by the population of the republic. It was stressed that it is impermissible to infringe on the rights of citizens of other nationalities in the course of carrying out measures to implement the state language; it is necessary to create conditions for the free choice of language in communication, upbringing, and instruction.

Uzbek CP Secretary on CPSU Leadership

90US0995A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
11 May 90 pp 2-3

[Statement by D.Kh. Khamidov, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee secretary, at 23-24 April 1990 CPSU Central Committee conference of party workers: "Ideological Work Must be Principled and Consistent"—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA VOSTOKA introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, a conference of secretaries of union republic communist party central committees and secretaries of party kraykoms and obkoms and a number of gorkoms and raykoms took place 23-24 April in the CPSU Central Committee. The debate on the report on ideological-political work presented by V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, was also joined by Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Secretary D.Kh. Khamidov.

In connection with the questions addressed to the Communist Party Central Committee at the rayon party conferences, we publish below the text of his statement.

Esteemed comrades, first of all permit me to express satisfaction that finally the CPSU Central Committee has deemed it necessary to gather together and listen to the party committee ideology secretaries. And although

delay in reacting to almost everything is something organically inherent to the Central Committee, nevertheless this debate is better than the chronic silence of the ideological leadership and our failure to act on certain ideological positions of principle.

Like everywhere else in the party and the country, the situation in Uzbekistan is far from simple. We also have more clearly defined forces that are trying to remove the party from power. The republic's socioeconomic backwardness is providing our ideological enemies with good grounds for criticism. This background is being used in the most diverse ways to intensify the centrifugal forces. In some people the so-called national idea is overshadowing reason, honor and morality. And in this sense I do not think that the situation in the Uzbek SSR is very different from what is happening in the other republics.

Among the numerous problems that face our republic there are those that it can and should resolve independently. And we are trying to resolve them. At the same time a number of complex problems remain that must be resolved on an all-union basis, and, moreover, without monetary cost or special efforts. As an example let me cite just one of them.

Thus, the great number of fatal accidents to our people in the Soviet Army is of serious concern to the party committees and to society. Each case of this kind generates enormous tension in the oblast, city, or rayon.

In 1989 some 430 zinc coffins were delivered to the republic. These are 430 dangerous hotbeds. These represent dozens of meetings of the informal associations, some of which are shamelessly and blasphemously taking advantage of the tragedies.

The republic leadership is well aware that there are various reasons for the deaths of soldiers, and that this sad statistic bears no comparison, for example, to the enormous rate of road accidents or production accidents, or to deaths resulting from growing crime and so forth. But in this case we are dealing with something else: A healthy young man in peacetime goes off to do his military service and a month later his parents receive the tragic news.

We must know when this will end. Indeed we must ultimately understand that those who die—whether as the result of *dedovschina* [the mistreatment and abuse of recruits], or an accident, or an illness—come mainly from agricultural regions where, as a rule, about a thousand people attend a funeral. This is in contrast to large cities, where sometimes even a neighbor on the next staircase does not know of his neighbor's grieving.

There is still no gleam of light in solving this problem. We have had an inquiry from USSR people's deputies to Comrade Yazov, we have had the appeal from the session of the republic Supreme Soviet proposing that draftees sent to construction battalions be given permission to serve in the republic or on the territory of the

Turkestan Military District—is there nothing that needs to be built in Central Asia or Kazakhstan?

I am totally convinced that we must resolve this issue, but as we have already been convinced, the solution will come late, after the social temperature has been raised to an intolerably high level.

The Communist Party Central Committee unambiguously condemns the campaign initiated in certain circles, aimed at undermining the authority of the Army and frustrating draft measures. Henceforth, too, we shall energetically fight attempts to set the Army in opposition to the people and the demagoguery and lies about the Armed Forces. I think that immediate elimination of certain negative phenomena in the life of the army collectives, and—the main thing—the tragic accidents, will be a decisive step in enhancing the prestige of the Armed Forces and removing this kind of misunderstanding.

But for us in the republic, it is generally clear that the situation can be stabilized only by resolving the socioeconomic problems. The practical work of the republic party organization in these last months shows that control not only cannot maintain the situation but can even make it worse.

I say without false modesty that in these past elections the Communist Party received the kind of support that even we, who have become accustomed to critical assessment, had not expected. This high rating was primarily the result of the fact that in its election platform the Communist Party not only found the most painful points but right then and there, even before the elections, started to implement socioeconomic measures. Let me enumerate some of what we are now implementing.

It was decided to double the number of farm plots and to allocate an additional 260,000 hectares (by reducing the area sown to cotton). This made it possible to reduce tension with respect to cotton as the single crop, increase the production of vegetables and fruit, and open up a broad road for individual housing construction. In connection with the latter it was decided to allocate credits for builders and provide them with construction materials.

Increasing the price per kilogram for cotton picked has played an enormous part in the advance of public awareness. The population is awaiting with hope the increased purchase price for cotton and agricultural produce from the all-union organs, and also the fact that in general the single crop issue will be settled. According to the plans for 1990 it is intended to procure approximately 1.5 million tons of cotton.

Steps have been taken to reconstruct the municipal economies in the cities and the capital, and for the social restructuring of the countryside.

In Central Asia the neighborhoods are of enormous importance in all vital issues. Previously the chairman

and secretaries of the neighborhood committee—usually authoritative and respected people doing community service work—also had a great deal to do with the indoctrination of the population, preserving traditions, and maintaining a certain moral climate. Now the leaders of the neighborhood (the chairman and secretary) are paid wages. This has produced very good results and all ideological, propaganda, and indoctrination work at the places of residence of the population is done through them. With the proper leadership they are fine aides for the ideological workers.

From 1990 free breakfasts are being served in all schools for the junior grades. Given the large size of families in Central Asia this is a great help. Additional free nourishment has been introduced for pregnant women and for patients suffering from anemia. Pensions have been increased for veterans and more is being spent on the handicapped and aged citizens in residential homes.

Kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have been permitted through state purchases to allocate agricultural produce for nurseries and kindergartens and for hospitals.

It has been established that if a mother with many children works on a private plot of land and concludes a contract for the delivery of produce she receives a labor record card and enjoys the same privileges as a worker (pension, labor seniority, and so forth).

Boarding schools will operate in all oblast centers for gifted children. A start has been made on organized work to train gifted young people in leading scientific centers in the country and abroad.

Another decision has been to compensate students who are forced to live in private apartments (and there are 78,000 of them). Important social measures include free travel on public transport for rural physicians and teachers.

The revival of the Navrus holiday—New Year according to the Eastern calendar—was greeted with great enthusiasm. Its legalization at the initiative of the Central Committee, like the creation of the "Meros" state program—"Cultural Heritage"—was a serious blow to all kinds of informal loud mouths acting from imaginary patriotic positions.

The main thing is that people have been able to compare for themselves the specific deeds of some and the incantations of others. And this has predetermined their choice.

Of course, it would be a very profound and dangerous error to become complacent now. The balance has been tipped but it must be frankly recognized that everything is still unstable. The changes have not yet become irreversible and it must be proposed that, in light of the economic reforms facing us, we can expect to undergo major trials.

This is why it is as necessary as the air we breathe to make scientifically sound predictions of the economic

and social situation in the country for the next two or three years. We must finally model the way in which events may possibly unfold after a regulated market economy has been introduced, for fantastic rumors about its consequences are now gaining increasing currency among the population. What will the public's standard of living be tomorrow? For us, for the political party of the workers, this is not a facile question, and the people must be given an honest answer.

Ideological cadres are constantly orienting themselves on the need for explanatory work. This is correct. And we are doing the explaining because goods that yesterday were in surplus are today disappearing. But we must know how far to explain things. People are demanding a clear-cut and honest answer. And the most dreadful thing is that they are already no longer believing us.

The drama and the paradox of the situation lies in the fact that under the conditions of perestroika of the whole of society, perestroika itself has not affected party-political and ideological work in any comparable way. We are trying to effect radical changes without, it seems to me, having a sufficiently clear idea of the processes taking place within the party itself, the new principles for the effectiveness of influence in the masses, or work under the conditions of a multiparty system.

For it is a fact that five years after April 1985 we essentially have no whole and harmonious concept for ideological work. Given all the importance of the periodical statements by our party leaders, it must be admitted that the CPSU Central Committee is still fulfilling poorly its role as the uniting force of an enormous propaganda apparatus such as no other party in the world possesses.

Moreover, no party can conceive of a situation in which the party press itself attacks its own people, when large print runs of anti-party newspapers and journals are being published by the party publishing houses.

We constantly hear that there are shortages of paper. But it is incomprehensible how paper can be used for openly anti-Soviet, antisocialist broadsheets that are literally inundating Moscow and seeping across the entire country. Where does all the paper in the Baltic area come from, where their publications are turned out along with our half-baked informals, which are sent off to Uzbekistan?

When we hear the sententiousness about the new mutual relations between the party committees and their own press organs, we at the local level would like to know this: Do they consider it normal in the Central Committee when the CPSU Central Committee publishing house publishes OGONEK, for example, which is certainly not acting in a loyal manner with respect to CPSU Central Committee positions? Is it normal when some CPSU Central Committee newspapers turn all the fire of their criticism on the lower party committees, leaving little of

their righteous anger for those who make no secret of the fact that they are slinging mud at the party?

I make bold to assert that at a time so decisive for the party, along with economic and social measures, the outcome of the struggle for the press will be of great importance. Much has already been lost, but nevertheless we have still not reached a point where the party voluntarily yields up its most powerful weapon—the press.

I am sure that the CPSU Central Committee should state openly that we already have publications in which no hint is dropped of any kind of pluralism, which have essentially been made a rostrum for a narrow circle of persons who offer each other much support and for whom half-truth and falsification have become the main pivot of their activity. Meanwhile, authoritative party publications, first and foremost PRAVDA, still tactfully keep their peace. At least I, for example, cannot remember seeing in it materials on the subject of the numerous insinuations made in OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, VZGLYADE and other similar “democratic” publications, or on the subject of those involved in the attacks against the CPSU by individual USSR people’s deputies.

I have no desire to be like those, whom people now call lazy and say they do not criticize the CPSU Central Committee. But, really comrades, it is simply insulting in a human way when one sees the listlessness and inaction or inconsistency of our main party headquarters, particularly in this present period, which is especially complex and dramatic.

The last of a multitude of examples is the open letters to Communists entitled “For Consolidation on a Principled Basis.” The latest statements from CPSU Central Committee secretaries at the Komsomol Congress and the editorials in PRAVDA literally canceled out the propositions voiced the day before on a decisive purge right down to particular party organizations. Has anyone asked the question of what the party committees look like today when they have accepted this instead of the long-awaited purge?

We at the local level are rightly asking this: If the Central Committee is demanding a delineation from the opposition parties, why does it not set an example? If, for example, a primary party organization considers that the behavior of Yu. Afanasyev is not at variance with the Rules, then does the Central Committee share this view? Would it be right to wait until Afanasyev himself comes knocking at their door?

In our opinion, consolidation is not admonitions, at least it is not only that. It is first and foremost actions—decisive, well-considered actions. But there are none.

It is a bitter thing to say, but it must be said. A significant proportion of the party aktiv is of the opinion that it is at

times better not to hurry with the realization of particular CPSU Central Committee instructions; it is quite possible that a new directive will soon be issued, contradicting the first.

Let me remind you how quite recently the party and ideological leaders raised up the aktiv for a struggle against the inclusion of the matter of Article 6 on the agenda of the Second Congress of USSR People’s Deputies. And two months later the CPSU Central Committee itself became the sponsor of its annulment.

At the most recent meeting of the aktiv I was asked this directly. Tell us, what kind of clever fellow it was who a year after the cutbacks had been made in the apparatus procrastinated with respect to a wage increase for party workers, and then, under conditions of social tension, raised them sharply and wrote into the draft of the new Rules that 50 percent of dues paid in the primary party organizations should be left with them? Forgive me, but I do not know which is greater here—the stupidity, the political infantilism or the deliberate wrecking.

We call ourselves the party of scientific methodology and at the same time, while possessing a very powerful scientific potential we are incapable of reading a situation even a few moves ahead. Have we learned nothing from the failure of the anti-alcohol campaign, the agroindustry, state acceptance, and slogans of acceleration? What new experiment can we expect next?

Several months ago, with the agreement of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, we decided to reorganize some of our press organs: two new party newspapers were created, to publish in Kazakh and Russian, along with a party journal in Uzbek and Russian. Need I mention the enthusiasm with which this was greeted by the public, since the question had been raised long before and had acquired fundamental political importance. And then as soon as we had published the resolution, we were informed by the CPSU Central Committee that it was impossible to support this request, just as if no agreement had ever been reached.

In general we understand that against the backdrop of the global problems with which the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department is engaged, forgetfulness in the matter of a publication in Uzbek might not be considered a tragedy. But I must say that the authority of the party or the Central Committee cannot be high if the local party organs do not enjoy that same authority.

If the central newspapers report with tender emotion how under pressure from the crowd an elected party organ is resigning, while the CPSU Central Committee fails to state its position on the matter, then this in no way means that tomorrow the crowd will pass by Staraya Ploshchad. Recent events indicate that it will be rather the contrary, since silence and indecision are seen by our ideological opponents as weakness.

Here in Uzbekistan, as, obviously, in other regions, we can follow with perfect clarity the evolution of relations

between the Central Committee and the central press. The force of example and the orientation on Moscow are still strong. (True, we sometimes still do not know whether or not this circumstance should be a source of joy to us). Accordingly, if the party Central Committee is unable to break the destructive trend in the press then I fear that at the local level there will be a chain reaction that is fraught with losses of the mass media.

The situation is similar with culture, particularly cinema and videos, where there is a total lack of any kind of responsible policy. The deliberate corruption of youth is under way.

In this connection I would like to inform you that the party Central Committee today finds itself under heavy pressure from the Communists and from a public demanding that a halt be imposed to the dissemination of certain most odious publications in the republic, and also films and television broadcasts. For example, on Central Television they are posing the question of how the appearance on the screen of the nude body is being received in our region, with its well-established moral and aesthetic traditions. I say nothing of the many other liberties being taken with absolute freedom by other emancipated figures in the arts. And although we do not want to create a new hotbed of tension with the press we shall obviously be forced to institute certain measures of prohibition if back in Moscow they are unable to direct the flow into some proper channel.

And finally, comrades, what can we expect if in the heart of the country, where we look with hope, alarm, and pain, on the eve of the Lenin jubilee deputies from the Moscow City Soviet discuss whether or not there should be a bust of V.I. Lenin?

This really does indicate the very profound crisis in our ideological activity, now lacking both rudder and sail. And this is why it is now so difficult for us to accept advice and instruction from those who, pardon me, right there under your nose, are unable to bring proper order and the decency of simple common sense.

Forgive me, comrades, for the abruptness, but I wanted you to know what many party workers and Communists in Uzbekistan are thinking and saying at this time.

Uzbek Communist Party Discusses 2 May Andizhan Riots

90US0964A Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 12 May 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee Buro was held at which the issue of mass disturbances in the city of Andizhan on 2 May and urgent measures aimed at stabilizing the

sociopolitical situation in the city and oblast were considered. M.I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, made a preliminary report.

He noted that the mass disturbances in the city of Andizhan developed primarily due to the carelessness and complacency of the leaders of party, soviet, and law enforcement organs of the oblast and the city and their failure to take timely measures aimed at resolving pressing economic and sociopolitical issues. The shortsightedness of many of them, their inability to anticipate and prevent emergency situations, confusion, and helplessness facilitated the extensive development of events.

It is alarming that crucial areas of organizing the leisure of the young people have been entrusted to incompetent and politically irresponsible individuals in the city and Andizhan Oblast as a whole, and that no necessary political conclusions have been drawn from the Fergana events of last year and the directives of the Uzbek CP Central Committee on preserving and maintaining a normal sociopolitical situation. The fight against clan-nishness and nepotism, speculation, bribery, and other violations in trade and the sphere of services is not conducted with due aggressiveness and firmness, which justifiably outrages the workers.

The Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro acknowledged the report of M.I. Ibragimov. It was stressed in the process that the disturbances which occurred were provocative in nature; they were the result of an entire chain of serious shortcomings of both the current and past leaders of the city and the oblast. Many of them took and take the position of detached on-lookers, and have not developed a feeling of compassion for the affairs and priority concerns of the people.

The insufficient coverage by the mass media of the events in the city of Andizhan, their roots and causes, was noted.

In the resolution adopted, an Uzbek CP Central Committee commission set up for studying the causes and consequences of the disturbances in the city of Andizhan was instructed to ensure the stabilization of the situation in the oblast in cooperation with the local party, soviet, and economic organizations, to take all necessary measures to restore order and discipline and create a healthy moral-ethical and psychological environment in the city and the oblast. A number of measures aimed at solving the most acute socioeconomic problems were developed, and corresponding assignments and recommendations were given to the party and soviet organs, ministries, and departments of the republic.

At the meeting of the buro, the results of city and rayon reports-and-elections party conferences and the progress of preparations for oblast conferences were reviewed. It was noted that the conferences which ended were held on the whole in an atmosphere of a frank exchange of views, critical analysis of the state of affairs in the economy and

the social sphere, in the spirit of concern of the Communists for the future and the authority of the party. This promoted the development of democratic approaches to the formation of elected organs. Forty-three secretaries of the party city and rayon committees, including 10 first secretaries, were elected on a competitive basis; about 50 percent were elected directly by the delegates. Workers and rank-and-file collective farm workers account for 30.7 percent of those included in the composition of renewed party committees, and women for about 27 percent. Three thousand one hundred and forty-two candidates were recommended to superior party organs, and 2,040 received recommendations to become delegates of the 22d Uzbek CP Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress.

At the same time, a considerable share of the conferences were held old-style and did not meet the expectations of the Communists. Scripting, dogmatism and an inflexible position, superficial and one-sided analysis of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Congress, the draft party statute, and perestroyka processes under way in the cities and rayons, and a mood of dependency and complacency were their serious shortcomings. The acute local political situation and issues of renewing the party and grasping its new position in society were not always reflected properly. Seniority and cliquish tendencies surfaced frequently in the course of

electing the leading organs, especially secretaries; a search for people with unconventional, new thinking was not necessarily conducted.

It was noted at the buro meeting that these and other negative tendencies are not being taken sufficiently into account at the final stage of preparing the oblast party conferences. Political analysis and conclusions are absent in the draft reports; the growth processes of ethnic self-awareness, the status of interethnic relations, and methods of working with informal and religious organizations are not properly covered; specific ways to overcome a critical condition in the socioeconomic sphere are not offered.

The Central Committee Buro instructed the oblast committees of the party to step up organizational and political work on holding oblast party conferences. It was suggested that political, economic, and ideological aspects of the reports be addressed taking into account the lessons of the city and rayon party conferences, that the members of elected organs and delegates be used in the course of preparing materials as much as possible, and that a clear-cut stand be taken on the issues of principle outlined in the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th Party Congress and the party statute.

The Central Committee Buro reviewed the progress of preparation of the main documents of the 22d Uzbek CP Congress and some other issues of party activities.

Anti-Russian Estonian Deputy T. Made Assailed

90UN1803A Moscow SOVESTSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 4 May 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Peter Mets: "The Untouchable, or How the ill-famous Tiit Made became journalist of the year"]

[Text] Yes, dear readers, you are right. Professor Made, the expert on Russian soul, has been named the best journalist of Estonia. The readers gave preference to him, although the competition involved 53 journalists. The "hero" himself held the position of deputy manager of the cement plant for public relations. As to the Professor's title, assistant lecturer Made admitted that it had been bestowed on him by the Swedes out of politeness. It will be recalled that Estonian parliamentarians hinted at having Tiit Made recalled as the USSR people's deputy. But now he has been elected deputy to Estonia's Supreme Soviet, having received more votes than even the popular front leader Edgar Savisaar, who now heads the Estonian government. But that was not enough. To crown it all, many participants in the beauty contest called Tiit Made as their ideal of a politician in recognition of Professor's merits. This is an incredible fact. I must say that not every Estonian can grasp the meaning of this metaphor.

Let me remind the SOVESTSKAYA ROSSIYA readers of the facts they already know. The newspaper, HELSINGIN SANOMAT, called Tiit Made a populist and a demagogue. Deputy to the Estonia's Supreme Soviet, T. Kork, called him a con man, and the Estonian scholar, T. Alatalu, who unveiled his plagiarism, wrote that Tiit Made was in no position to express and uphold popular interests because of his moral qualities (SOVESTSKAYA ROSSIYA, August 20, 1989).

Journalist Lyubov Troshina gave the most apt description of this "expert on Russia". Describing Made's position with regard to the Russians, she said: "This is not a stand of his, but a rather unusual and bold method of making it in life. I finally became convinced of this after I had received a bagful of responses to this interview with him. His supporters are a crowd (VECHERNIY TALLINN, April 2, 1990). He said that the SOVESTSKAYA ROSSIYA's article, "Like An Experienced Demagogue", did not affect him much and inveighed again against the Russians living in Tallinn, for example, for having celebrated New Year according to Moscow time, and not the local time.

Assuming the role of a Russian mud-slinger (and justifying himself by the fact that there are Russian chauvinists) he goes further and further. At one point, he claimed that 350 thousand non-Estonians would have no jobs in the future, so let them emigrate, or he shouts: Let us pay all of our debts to Russia and the Russians lest they leave us in peace. You can imagine that under certain circumstance, such statements can cause applause, and it does not matter that sobering up is to follow.

Tiit Made plays for the public, he can outdo anyone in this. The draft resolution on supporting the Lithuanian government was deliberated in the Estonian Supreme Soviet at the end of April. Submitted by Tiit Made, the draft had everything imaginable. In a grip of frenzy, the newly-established parliamentarian called for convening a conference on the Baltic republics with the participation of Bush, Gorbachev, Mitterand, and Thatcher, to censure Western countries for their stand on Lithuania; Moscow was accused of organizing economic genocide, and so on and so forth. Made loud-mouthed from he rostrum for three days. Made's opponents had to invite Academician E. Lippmaa, USSR people's deputy, to join the discussion. The project was eventually turned down. Made lashed out at the Academician and other republican leaders immediately after that, and emerged as a mob hero once again.

T. Made's success has long been attributed to his being immune from criticism in Estonia. Any of his statements are published, and it is useless to try to refute them. Here is telltale detail. It was only the LOOMING magazine that told its Estonian readers about T. Made's plagiarism - and only in small print on the last page - as reported by the Finnish newspaper, HELSINGIN SANOMAT. This fact was mentioned for the second time in the Edasi newspaper of August 17, 1989, but only with reference to "abstracting" somebody else's material, not a single word about plagiarism.

"Prominent scholar and public figure" was accused of taking credit for another person's work first time by T. Alatalu, Candidate of Science (Philosophy). He made a comparative textual analysis of several books to discover that out of 490 pages in his book "International Organization", Made copied 440 pages from three Soviet publications ("Short political dictionary", 1984; "International Organizations", New Times magazine supplement, 1982; "International Economic Organizations", Moscow State University Publishers, 1985) and from foreign-published Yearbook International Organization, 1978 and Europe Yearbook, 1982.

The experts' panel set up by the "Eesti raamat" publishers acknowledged plagiarism, but its decision has not been published anywhere yet. On the other hand, T. Alatalu, who exposed him became the subject of three lampoons in the SIRP Y VAZAR newspaper, one of them authored by T. Made. He also filed a libel suit against T. Alatalu, and the latter was kicked out of TV. Moreover, he had to leave the republic, and his letter in reply to the lampoons, the letter that unveiled the entire mechanism behind the illegal financial and departmental protection of plagiarism and Made's position, has never been published.

The regional newspaper, VALGAMAAL ANE (March 29, 1990), has revived this unfinished story recently. Estonian-born US lawyer Jan Roosaare confirmed in another regional newspaper, LAENLANE (March 24, 1990), that T. Made had been declared persona non grata both in the United States and Switzerland. All this has

been published, I repeat, in the regional newspapers, while "independent" Tallinn papers write only the things to the benefit of Tiit Made.

It is quite interesting to follow the shenanigans used by this politician. Today Made causes applause by declaring that he has never felt himself to be a Communist (he turned in his Party membership card in October). Many people will remember him as No. 1 popularizer of K.U. Chernenko's works in Estonia. One can apparently find very few authors whose collected works opened up with K. Chernenko's articles. Such a book by T. Made was published in Estonia in 1980, at a time when K.U. Chernenko was known already as L.I. Brezhnev's close associate. "No one made him open the collection with that name. But T. Made knew what he was doing. And he published two books a year in the past five years," writes M. Lepp. I leafed through the book, interested in seeing how its contributors are listed there: K. Chernenko, Tiit Made, B. Ponomarev, Tiit Made again, and so on.

He is a fad once again - both in Estonia and abroad. I do not think that T. Made's phenomenon is due solely to the friends' efforts. Bets are made on him. This became evident during the recent "Election Studio" TV program. Journalists asked candidates many tricky questions, concerning their biographies, deeds and actions. The only question T. Made was asked was: "Will you dare pick up the phone and call general Yazov?" Of course, he was prepared to call him on the spot. And then he was asked to size up the Free Estonia association, which competed with the Popular Front during the elections. Naturally, T. Made flung mud at the association. This means that Tiit Made is always chosen whenever somebody has to be vilified or compromised in the public eye - he is always ready to do this.

Today's parliamentarians do not seem to be put off by the pronouncements made by T. Made either. It will be recalled that about 300 USSR deputies requested a while ago that their colleague be given an evaluation. But everybody calmed down after the Estonian delegates had apologized for him in public.

I can say that it is difficult to clear up the picture remains obscure in Estonia because T. Made controls...radio and television. It has become a rule for him to go on the air as soon as any scandal breaks out. Who would dare doubt having an honest man on the screen? When the article was published in Sweden, T. Made was staying there. He was given a hero's welcome upon his return, with our local papers even given the date of his arrival. So, the ball went rolling again. You can hear Tiit Made when you turn on the radio, and you can see Tiit Made when the TV is on...

Incidentally, only 300 readers were polled during the competition which named Made journalist of the year. But the poll results were played up prominently on the RAHVA HAAL's front page, with the superplagiarist's,

or the "superstar's" picture there. One cannot help exclaiming looking at it: O tempora, o mores! [What a time! What morals! - Tr.].

Tallinn

The author contributes his royalty to the Chernobyl fund.

New Armenian Sociopolitical Group Profiled

90US0966A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
8 May 90 p 1

[Article by A. Kalantar: "'Ayastan' Is Underway"]

[Text] The sociopolitical group "Ayastan," registered with the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, operates in Yerevan. The following initiated its creation: Georgiy Tataryan, general director of the "Armazprom" [Armenian Gas Industry] production association; Professor Vardkes Mikayelyan, department head at the Institute of History of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences and doctor of historical sciences; Vardkes Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Cultural Foundation; and Ovannes Vasilyan, one of the leaders of the "Aydat" social organization. The managing board, the presidium of the managing board, and the chairman of the organization were elected at a conference which took place a few days ago.

A *KOMMUNIST* correspondent asked V. Mikayelyan, chairman of the organization, and G. Tataryan, general director of the "Armazprom" production association and member of the managing board, to talk about the goals and basic directions of "Ayastan" activities.

We have no end of work to do, and it follows four main directions, V. Mikayelyan says. These are the disaster zone, refugees, Artsakh, and Armenia itself. Specially created problem groups will study these issues. I concern myself with the latter two.

It is probably unnecessary to point out that we intend to render all kinds of aid—material, financial, and moral—to the people of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. As for our ideas for solving the problem itself, we believe that the autonomies and the autonomous formations should enjoy full rights and become equal with all the republics and members of the federation.

The law on secession from the country should apply to all equally. What is the situation now? According to the USSR law on secession from the country, only when a republic has announced its own secession can an autonomous formation located on its territory raise the question of its agreement or disagreement with such a decision. Putting it another way, the residents of NKAO cannot think about reuniting with Armenia until Azerbaijan wishes to secede from the USSR. This is absurd.

Another part of the program of "Ayastan" is the struggle for recognition by the world community and the United

Nations of the 1915 genocide of the Armenians and of the right of the Armenian people to their own historical homeland. We are going to secure an immediate examination of the 1921 Moscow treaty by which a portion of Armenian lands were transferred to Turkey and Azerbaijan at the insistence of Turkey in violation of all international norms. And of course in order to implement our program we will take an active part in the republic's political and social life and nominate our own delegates to its parliament.

I consider one of the most important areas of "Ayastan" activity to be the establishment of business and cultural ties with external and internal refugees and the further creation of branches of our organization in all regions of the republic and in countries with Armenian colonies. And finally, special attention will be devoted to creating our own press organ—newspapers in Armenian and Russian.

The first thing I wish to note, G. Tataryan says, is that our organization, which has existed de facto for more than a year but de jure for only several days, is rather large. Its membership includes collectives of industrial enterprises, sovkhozes [state farms], and kolkhozes [collective farms], and of various institutions of the republic. At present there are 14 of them.

Today some of the informal organizations consider it necessary to secede from the USSR. This plan runs contrary to our charter in every way. We are convinced that it is ruinous for the entire Armenian people economically as well as militarily and politically. The republic's independence must be provided for only as part of a Soviet federation, and this must be achieved in any way possible.

We have allotted a special place in our work to restoring the disaster zone. You are aware that we are currently building two settlements—Karmrakar and Lernut—in Akhuryanskiy Rayon. There will be three- and five-room apartments with all conveniences. A trade center, school, hospital, kindergartens, cinemas, and a consumer club are also being built—in a word, everything that is needed for the normal functioning of modern towns. I wish to note that these measures are not part of the planned work of "Armgaazprom." Our charitable society "Ayrenadarts" is erecting a small city for 7,000-8,000 residents in Abovyanskiy Rayon near Byuregavan for refugees from Azerbaijan, and we are bringing gas to all of the NKAO using the resources of the state gas concern.

Non-Georgian 'Interfront' Evokes Reaction

90US0868A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
17 Apr 90 p 3

[Responses to Interfront movement: "The Provocation Will Not Succeed"]

[Text] Statement of the Georgian Union of Legal Experts

The Georgian Union of Legal Experts believes that the appeal being disseminated in Tbilisi bearing the signature of the so-called "Interfront Organizing Committee" is in its content and aims a socially dangerous document.

The "organizing committee's" charge concerning the synonymy for the Georgian of the "non-Georgians equals nonpeople" concept is not only malicious slander but also alien to his national character. The insulting accusation that associations of non-Georgians living in the republic are puppets and have been created under the influence of Georgia's formal and informal organizations is wholly without foundation. Just as demagogic is the assertion concerning the "division of labor," which, the "organizing committee" believes, operates in Georgia and engenders social injustice. It is this idea which is propounded by anonymous authors with the aim of pursuing the imperial policy of "divide and rule."

As a whole, the document endeavors to erect a barrier between progress and nations' right to self-determination recognized by international legal practice and rules.

The Georgian Union of Legal Experts is sure that the peoples living in Georgia will not fall for this provocation, whose aim is to ignite interethnic enmity.

The Armenian Cultural and Charitable Society of Georgia addresses the statement "We Do Not Need the Interfront" to the whole Armenian population of the republic and the representatives of all nations and nationalities living in Georgia; it calls for people to be prudent and not succumb to provocations whose aim is to introduce division and dislike and interethnic discord in our age-old friendship. The appeal says that it is essential in today's difficult situation to close ranks even more closely around the Georgian people in their struggle to preserve their distinctiveness, language, traditions, way of life and historical memory and in the struggle for a genuinely free and sovereign Georgia. Only in a free country is the freedom of each possible. We cannot permit the creation of a vicious circle of hatred, from which it would be difficult to escape. We must solve the painful problems together. Confrontation on a national basis essentially means the kindling of civil war.

Rumors concerning the creation of an organization opposed to the movement for the restoration of Georgia's state independence have been making the rounds of late. Leaflets calling on the republic's non-Georgian population to unite and rise to the defense of their interests infringed by the indigenous inhabitants, signed by the alleged organizing committee of an interfront, served as the grounds for their appearance.

The Georgian People's Front "National Accord" Association has expressed its attitude toward this document. This organization incorporates about 2,000 representatives of practically all the nationalities living in the republic. Their goal is the republic's achievement of real sovereignty and the building of a democratic state based

on the rule of law, whose citizens possess equal rights regardless of national origins.

A meeting of the association board condemned the content of the leaflet and adopted a resolution which says:

"At the time of the anniversary of the 9 April events in the republic anonymous leaflets are being distributed which represent a skillfully linked chain of insults aimed at each individual resident on Georgian territory and considering Georgia his home. They are imbued with the idea of the imposition on society of the principle of division on a nationality basis, the creation of two alternative characters—the 'Georgian' and 'non-Georgian'—and the artificial differentiation of inhabitants into national-class social groups. And this at a time when Russians and Greeks, Armenians and Jews, Azerbaijanis and Ossetians, and Kurds and Assyrians are standing alongside Georgians in the ranks of the national liberation movement, when the Georgian and Abkhaz communities are jointly mounting protest actions, and when people have begun to recognize that their common salvation lies in unity.

However, the forces of reaction are continuing their provocative sallies, attempting to stifle this process...."

Aleksandr Rusetskiy, president of the "National Accord" Association, told a GRUZINFORM correspondent that the leaflets are not the sole experience of late of provocations aimed at the national alienation of the population of the republic.

It is perfectly obvious to me that the statement of the so-called Georgian Interfront is a forgery with a provocative filling: It was to some people's advantage to embroil us, declared Achilles Chenidi, deputy chairman of the All-Union Society of Soviet Greeks.

In today's very complex situation, he also observed, it is essential that we all display greater restraint and friendliness, courage and magnanimity.

The appearance on the streets of Tbilisi of leaflets calling on the non-Georgian population for the creation of an interfront, write Valekh Gadzhiev, candidate of philological sciences and senior lecturer, Nasib Nasibov, cultural worker emeritus of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, and journalist Islam Aliyev, pursues an incendiary purpose. It is not difficult to make out that what we have here is a dirty plan aimed against the unity of all the peoples living in Georgia and the struggle for common goals. This concoction is of a purely anti-Georgian nature and pursues the goal of the creation of interethnic discord and confrontation between the Georgian and non-Georgian population of our republic.

We are not for an interfront but for unity and joint struggle. No incitement can shake our firm resolve to be always together with the Georgian people and to support their sacred aims in the struggle for sovereignty and independence.

I hasten to comment on a Georgian television broadcast, Vera Alekseyevna Blagoyeva, a teacher of Russian language and literature at High School 37, writes us concerning an attempt by certain elements to create an interfront society. I do not see the slightest need for this. I, a Bulgarian, have personally been living in Georgia since 1946 and have no need of this society's guardianship. I believe that people like myself are a majority in Georgia.

I say plainly that if some people want respect, let they themselves respect others. Muddying the waters is the easiest thing in the world. Cleaning them is far more difficult.

Georgian Miners Strike For Economic Reform

904F0155A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
18 Apr 90 p 5

[Article by Eka Akhalkatsi: "Miners' Strike"]

[Text] Yesterday at eight o'clock in the morning, a group of miners from Tkibuli arrived in Tbilisi and stationed themselves at the building of the Georgian State Philharmonic.

Their demands: That radical economic reform be conducted in Georgia, real economic independence be extended to the mines, and local self-rule and economic independence afforded the City of Tkibuli. The miners' purpose in coming to Tbilisi was to direct attention to themselves—that of the republic leadership and of society in general. We will see what happens, but those Tbilisi residents I had occasion to meet yesterday at the Philharmonic spoke approvingly concerning the demands of the Tkibuli workers.

"We began our strike on 4 April," stated Zurab Diakonidze, electrical fitter at the Tkibuli Mine imeni I. Stalin. "It continues to this day. Just basic operations are going on—water- pumping and ventilation. Coal is not being extracted. The strike aims to achieve the national independence of Georgia, eliminate the People's Control Committee in the rayon and the Tkibulskiy Raykom [rayon party committee] of the Georgian Communist Party as ruling organ, and eliminate the Rayon Agroindustrial Association."

"The Tkibuli Ore Concentration Factory and Tkibuli Garment Factory declared strikes after we did," mine worker Giol Bochorishvili stated, entering the conversation. "And we will remain on strike until our demands are met."

"I would like to state further," said mine foreman Vakhtang Butskhrikidze, "that we are demanding dissolution of the 'Georgian Coal Combine' Association. We simply don't need it. We believe it is necessary to create a small element in Tkibuli itself, which will be more successful in carrying out these functions."

Georgian Opposition Movements Reviewed

90US0912A Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 18, 30
Apr 90 p 9

[Article by Aleksandr Annin: "Irreconcilable? Notes on Georgian Opposition"]

[Text] After I was already back in Moscow preparing this article I found out: Shots were fired in Tbilisi. In the Institute of Recent Sociopolitical History of Georgia there was to have been a meeting of the National Forum which united the irreconcilable opposition. It was here that the shots were exchanged between groups of unknown people.

The report was astounding: Quite recently representatives of the opposition assured me that all differences among the parties and between the republic and the center would be resolved only through peaceful means. I phoned Tbilisi and spoke with the people from the opposition with whom I had spoken previously. And I heard that the crossfire had nothing to do with those gathered in the institute; it was a provocation against the National Forum.

I think the investigation will clarify the report of what happened. But blood has been spilled. That is a fact. And to a large degree it reflects the current nervous situation in the republic.

Tragedy and Calculations

During the days when all of Tbilisi was celebrating the anniversary of the tragedy of 9 April came the distressing news from Abkhazia. The chairman of one of the village soviets had committed suicide. Not long before his suicide a group of local residents had come to him requesting permission to collect money to build a monument to those who had died in front of the Government House. The chairman gave his permission. Immediately there were those who opposed this decision. Arguments began, which turned into insults and threats.

The person brought it on himself.

What times have come to the Georgian land?...

And I recalled the night between 8 and 9 April of this year. Tens of thousands of people came to the central square. At the microphone were the nation's finest: scholars, poets, writers... The people were mourning. And here to the jeers of the crowd one of the organizers lit an effigy dressed in the uniform of a Soviet general. Next to the place where 16 people had died. This is the way some of the people had decided to honor the memory of the dead.

The Tbilisi tragedy brought more than just mourning and a revulsion for violence to people's hearts.

The opposition leaders said bluntly: The tragedy united the nation to fight for the state independence of Georgia. "On 9 April, in spite of the blood that was spilled, we had a great victory." Georgiy Chanutriya, chairman of the National Democratic Party, told me candidly.

What else awaits the nation on the path along which it is trying to attract the opposition forces? Is it not darkened by disappointments or even more victims? What will be the destiny of the peoples of the republic in a "free and independent Georgia"?

The press of the opposition parties gives this figure: 90 percent of Georgia is in favor of the republic's withdrawal from the USSR. Where did they get these figures? I recall that recently an official representative of the People's Front of Azerbaijan also assured me that 90 percent of Azeris are in favor of the sovereignty of their republic. But no referendum was held regarding this issue either in Georgia or in Azerbaijan.

"Hurrah for the Tsar..."

The year that has passed since the day of the Tbilisi tragedy has been a time of turbulent politicization of the population. People of all professions have hastened to get involved in the national ferment, sometimes without thinking, entering one of the numerous parties that have appeared on the face of the earth.

Differences in party programs and views on the restructuring of society have brought opposition leaders to the point of personal animosity. And in some cases the goals of the parties are indeed mutually exclusive. For example, the extremely well-known monarchist party is fighting to have Georgia ruled by a...tsar. The group of monarchists with whom I had occasion to speak next to the Government House briefly presented their objective as follows:

"Your current emperor Vladimir Kirillovich Romanov is married to a direct descendant of the Georgian throne, Leonida Bagrationa. If our party obtains the support of the majority of our compatriots, we shall invite one of the offspring of the royal couple to take the throne."

Restoration of a monarchy at the end of the 20th century, you will agree, is an astonishing idea. So why is the monarchist party one of the largest in Georgia? Do people really believe that a "father tsar" will come and bring prosperity to the Georgian land?

In my view the party is popular because of a certain sense of contradiction. Some people see in monarchist rule the possibility of making a radical break with socialism, for they see only a complete rejection of the socialist choice as a guarantee of their flourishing.

And so at one time there was vacillation in the opposition camp. At the National Forum which met during 13-15 March the leaders decided to "wed" various political currents. Seven influential parties participated: the National Democratic (NDPG), Democratic, Monarchist, the Society of Ilya Pravednyy, the Helsinki Group, the Christian Democratic Union, and the National Independence Party.

To begin with they defined their attitudes toward the past. Everyone agreed on this: In 1921 Georgia was annexed by Soviet Russia.

It is known that they have always tried to give legal form to their right to statehood. This was the case here as well. Georgia, they say, was never legally a part of the "so-called USSR." For, as was said at the forum, in 1921 the Georgian government did not sign the act of capitulation. So the state of independent Georgia continues to exist to this day, with its own constitution of 1918.

And the signing of the Union agreement? Well, the opposition leaders assure us, that is an exceptional case. With whom was the Union agreement signed? With the Transcaucasian Federation and not with Georgia. Therefore Georgia is a colony and the USSR is the center of the empire.

We shall not go into legal fine points. But let us note that our entire country has experienced a gloomy period of lawlessness and arbitrariness. But is this really all we have in common from our joint past? God, what is the worth of just our great joint victory against fascism! But people do not wish to recall this today.

In general at the forum it was easy to reach unanimity with respect to the past. But what comes next? The Helsinki Group and the Iliya Pravvednyy Society insisted on participating in the forthcoming elections to the republic soviet. That is, they proposed the "Lithuanian variant." In their opinion, a victory of the opposition in the elections was a sure thing, and once they had come to power it would be easy to declare Georgia's independence *de jure*.

No, it turned out that the majority of the opposition had no such intentions. "To run in the elections means to recognize the Soviet power structure. We must create our own, parallel government and fight for the overthrow of the soviets as such."

The forum went to the population of the republic with this appeal. As it stands now the elections have been postponed until autumn.

How to Seize Power?

We met with Georgiy Chanturiya, chairman of the National Democratic Party, in the National Democratic Party staff headquarters on Rustaveli Prospekt. Until 18 March this separate two-story building belonged to the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] gorkom [city committee]. "We made them get out," explained Chanturiya.

According to the law, such a seizure of property entails criminal liability. But the official authorities remained silent. They acted as though nothing had happened. This is typical of their position in general.

In his 30 years Georgiy Chanturiya has already managed to spend some time in jail for organizing anti-Soviet rallies. In 1985, with the appearance of the country's new leaders and new thinking, he was released early. Incidentally, the time he spent in prison is considered to be a great plus among activists of the opposition parties and

gives him a chance to be chosen as the leader. Apparently it is no accident that the National Democratic Party is promoting its views in the prisons as well. The prisoners are supplied with an abundance of National Democratic literature.

"You rejected the 'Lithuanian variant'; what do you propose instead?" I asked Chanturiya.

"Our first task is to create an uncontrollable situation in the republic. To do this we are calling for civil disobedience among the population of Georgia."

A device as old as the world—destabilize the society before seizing power. Civil disobedience means open refusal to obey Soviet laws. For example, Georgian youths are being urged not to register with the military committees. The opposition leaders know that a lad can be sent to prison for refusing to serve in the military in keeping with existing law. But it is a no-lose situation for the opposition: If the authorities begin to arrest young people who do not show up for the draft this will cause more disturbances in the republic. But if they "let it slide," one can speculate that the "higher ups" are lacking in power and are afraid of the opposition.

Hundreds of boys are pawns in this cruel game of chance.

In crowded places in Tbilisi for many months now the passers by have been urged to renounce their Soviet citizenship. Right there is a table at which you can fill in your personal data on a form and they will send it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

About 50,000 Georgians have already filled out these improvised "petitions." It is difficult to believe that all of them have given this step much thought.

But it would appear that members of the opposition group have weighed and thought about everything:

"We consider this action a very effective means of fighting for the independence of Georgia," declared Georgiy Chanturiya. "But neither I nor my comrades-in-arms are rejecting our Soviet citizenship."

Chanturiya justifies this "caution" by saying that he does not wish to give the authorities cause to send "fighters for independence" from the USSR. "But we are not afraid of repressive measures," the chairman of the National Democratic Party continued. "Our party has a ramified and well-supplied underground which will remain intact in any case."

The Path to a Break

"The main thing is to separate, and we can resolve our internal contradictions later," one frequently hears in Tbilisi. People are convinced of this by representatives of the opposition who allege that Georgia's problems cannot be resolved within the framework of the Soviet federation.

Who today needs to be persuaded that each people has the right to choose its own path? But the opposition avoids discussing the issue that the republic's withdrawal from the Union will inevitably give rise to an immense number of the most difficult problems within the republic as well.

Let us take just this aspect. Today the main political parties in Georgia defer to the Orthodox Church. "Hail the independent, democratic, Christian Georgia!"—this is the slogan of the National Forum. It has decreed that after Georgia's separation the state religion will be Orthodoxy. This is causing dissatisfaction even today in Adzharia where the majority of the population are Muslims. In the majority of civilized countries no single religion is declared to be the state religion so as to demean those who believe in another faith.

On the other hand, if the Adzhars and Georgians comprise one nation, the Orthodox Abkhazes are an altogether different people. In Abkhazia, as we know, many do not want to live "under the power of Tbilisi" at all. And they demonstrate this openly (recall the tragic fate of the chairman of the village soviet). So the conflicts will not be just among nationalist parties.

And the language problem? Today in Georgia the language problem is called nothing other than "the language

in which the order was given to the soldiers a year ago." Representatives of the Baltic states, Rukh, and the People's Front of Azerbaijan who gathered in Tbilisi on the anniversary of the tragedy excused themselves each time because they had to speak before the microphone in the Russian language.

It was sad and comical to hear these excuses. But they could find no other means of communication for all those who had gathered at the rally. This is the way our common destiny has taken form. Whether the leaders of the Georgian opposition like it or not, the Russian language will long be the language of interethnic communication for the Georgians. There is no other with which to replace it.

It would be naive to count on the idea that today's problems in Georgia can be resolved in the Madrid villa where the heirs to the Georgian throne reside. They have to be resolved in this land. And regardless of anybody's will, the Russian and Georgian people will remain neighbors on it. With their common past. For you cannot push history out the door as the Komsomol gorkom was pushed out of the building that caught the opposition's eye. It has linked the two peoples forever. And it is much stronger than the marriage bonds that join the royal families of Russian and Georgia.

Moldavian MVD Minister On Measures To Fight Economic Crime

90UN1879A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 17 Apr 90 p 4

[Interview with Moldavian Minister of Internal Affairs, Vladimir Voronin, by M. Sidorov and V. Granin: "Where Avarice Leads"].

[Text] [Correspondent] Vladimir Nikolayevich, it is no secret that the economy today has become one of the most lucrative areas for smart operators of various types, and what is worse criminal "mafia-type" groups. And this is one of the reasons for the worsening social tensions.

[Voronin] Let me add that social tensions have been "heated up" by the shortages of virtually everything. When, of 1,200 types of goods, 1,050 cannot be found on the shelves, this creates the best possible conditions for the operators to enter into trade with speculators and profiteers.

The loss of balance in the market, mistakes in structuring of economic activity and in the organization of cooperative movement, and the serious shortcomings in the way police operations are organized have made it possible for criminal groups and their numerous accomplices to make a career of crime.

Given this, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Moldavian SSR is making every effort and using every means at its disposal in its attempts to stop the rampages of organized crime.

For example, while in 1981 250 criminally punishable acts of speculation were identified throughout the entire republic, 8 years later, during the first 3 months of the current year, there have already been 197, including 95 cases of so called "expert" profiteering.

But despite this we still do not have law and order. And this is true partially because today profiteering is "economically profitable." After all it is very easy to make enough money to compensate for the fines imposed or, for example, losses due to confiscation of goods involved in speculation.

This demonstrates the weakness of the law, which was written and ratified during the time of "stagnation." In response to a proposal by the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of our republic, has passed an edict, "On increasing liability for misconduct in trade and speculation." This edict stipulates criminal liability for such illegal acts.

For example, while, in accordance with the previous law, an individual convicted of "simple" speculation (in which the amount of the offered or received profit ranges from 100 to 200 rubles) could be sentenced to a maximum of up to 2 years in prison and a fine of up to 500

rubles, now for the analogous crime, profiteers face 3 years of prison and confiscation of property or a fine of from 1,000 to 3,000 rubles.

And if profiteering is repeated and, let us say, on a large scale, or uses state, cooperative, or other social facilities then the punishment is also made more severe—up to 7 years of incarceration with confiscation of property or fines from 2,000 to 10,000 rubles.

The sentence for repeat offenders or organized groups of profiteers are even more severe.

And there is still one more important point. Under the previous law, establishment of liability for violating trade regulations involved overcoming an obstacle, a seemingly slight one, but one that was difficult to overcome. When employees of stores, warehouses, or depots were caught selling consumer goods "under the counter", our field workers and investigators still had to prove that they had done it for mercenary reasons or to gain some other personal benefit.

And what happened? Data for this year alone, which is far from complete, indicate that employees of the BKhSS [Struggle Against Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation] discovered that more than 250 thousand rubles worth of goods in short supply were illegally withheld from the market [for personal gain]. Yet only a few people were criminally charged for this crime for the reason just given.

The legislative body heeded the proposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and omitted this stipulation from the new edict.

Now, for example, for the sale of goods from warehouses, depots, or backrooms of commercial or food service facilities, as well as concealment of goods from purchasers on a particularly large scale, a person can be incarcerated for up to 10 years with confiscation of property and loss of the right to occupy a particular position or engage in a particular activity. Especially large scale means concealment or sale of goods worth 1,000 rubles or more.

We believe that the law will allow us to deliver a blow to profiteers and at the same time to the employees of commercial establishments who supply them and thus to at least partially do away with the mafia, which has so deeply entrenched itself in the distribution of consumer goods.

[Correspondent] Obviously you are not going to deny that one of the realities of our life is the rather significant increase in economic crime, which due to its high level of organization has been extremely well concealed. Are the police capable of opposing these criminal organizations and winning the fight against them?

[Voronin] Let me remind you that, aside from speculation, the BKhSS of the republic annually brings to light 2,500 other economic crimes. This figure appears impressive. However, administrative science asserts

that, nevertheless, we are apprehending only approximately 2 percent of the bribe takers, approximately half of the cases of commercial theft, and up to 6 percent of the mercenary crimes in the meat and dairy industry.

Why such poor results? In my view, crime has penetrated the legal structures of the state. It even, to some degree, helps to satisfy some needs, but while doing so it supplies itself and lives exclusively off our country's economy.

Here is an example. The Moldavian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has brought and is prosecuting an action against the shady business of two cooperatives from Kishinev and one from Rostov, which were authorized to install and debug computer software. A small group of operators, having supplied themselves with the necessary papers, set up a contraband channel for obtaining computers through triple "transfer" of the machines from one cooperative to another. In this way they increased the sum they obtained for each article by 50-60 thousand rubles. Preliminary calculations indicate that the state lost and the cooperative members pocketed something like 10-11 million, and this was for a period of 9-10 months.

The business was very well organized and had been very skillfully given the appearance of legality.

[Correspondent] How can such abuses be fought?

[Voronin] We are following a course that involves considering the special features of Moldavia when we develop the programs and concepts for maintaining order and fighting crime. We are attempting to set things up so that the police increasingly become an agency providing social services to the population. More than ever before we are emphasizing provision of the requisite facilities to our units and the professional training of our personnel. Our participation in the development of new legislation has become increasingly active.

We are in favor of strengthening administrative monitoring and improving auditing procedures, which, as you know, under the cover of improvement of general and sector management of the republic's economy, have been reduced by 45 percent.

The Ministry has proposed to the government that a non-departmental monitoring and auditing system be established for working exclusively with the claims of law enforcement agencies. We believe that this innovation would be fully justified during the first stage of construction of a state built on laws.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the cooperative movement?

[Voronin] I, of course, am in favor of a "system of civilized cooperatives." It is an important movement and a necessary one; but what is it that bothers us? First, we had thought that in the near future the cooperatives would allow the public to satisfy their demands for goods and services within the limits of 10 percent of the number of consumers. However, in actuality it turned

out differently: more than 60 percent of the services of cooperative members are provided not to the public, but to the state.

In my view, to retain cooperatives, to attenuate the circumstances that give rise to crime, we must solve several problems. In particular we must forbid state agencies from purchasing services from cooperatives.

Judge for yourself. The "private citizen" will not pay more money than something is worth, but many have still not learned how to count when they are spending state money. We must create a network of specialized stores exclusively for providing cooperatives with what they need. Until then, so long as the chairman of the cooperative operates in a "free search" mode in the quest for equipment and raw and other materials - there will be theft and bribery of people in official positions, etc.

It is also necessary to abolish the practice of making loans to individuals who wish to open their own business. We must get private savings deposited in savings banks, and not only in them, into circulation.

[Correspondent] Does the "shady" economy exist?

[Voronin] Of course, it exists. But in a somewhat different form than appears on the surface. The "shady" economy includes not merely known and unknown thefts, profiteering, and bribe taking, but the sum total of illegal forms of economic activity. These obviously include:

1. Illegal economic activity. Objectively this is manifest in the transfer of material values from the state sector into the cooperative sector, and the creation of artificial shortages.

We may also speak of illegal economic activity when material resources belonging to the state are used "under the roof" of cooperatives.

Well, for example when a physician sees patients until 14:00 as a state doctor, and after 14:00 as a cooperative member, etc.

2. Economic crime, and its most acute form "organized" crime.

3. The "black" market, while it has many facets, is a market of resources and raw materials, consumer goods, finances, and currency, a manpower market.

Since the "shady" economy will quickly become an extremely complex structure, the fight against it must be conducted using not only laws, but administrative, economic, and even political means.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Nikolayevich, we are speaking mainly about the underwater portion of the "iceberg," and yet there are economic violations taking place on the streets, in full view!

[Voronin] It should be acknowledged that petty speculation, illegal sale of goods or other objects, hand-to-hand trade in unauthorized places—all this is a rather widespread, ubiquitous phenomenon. Last year alone, 917 people were detained for such violations in Kishinev. A total of over 66 thousand rubles worth of objects of illegal trade and speculation were confiscated from them. Total fines imposed by the peoples court amounted to 29930 rubles. And in the first quarter of the current year alone, throughout the republic 700 violators of the law were caught red-handed, of which 412 cases were in the capital. A total of 50 thousand dollars worth of consumer goods were confiscated from them, and 40 thousand rubles in fines were imposed.

The sale of industrial goods in unauthorized places is punished with fines of from 50 to 200 rubles and the goods are confiscated. Information on violators of the law are being considered not by the administrative commission of the rayon ispolkom, but by the people's courts. The fines imposed for selling goods at prices greater than retail have also been increased.

For the first arrest for home-grown peddling one can be fined from 100 to 200 rubles with confiscation of the goods offered for sale, and for repeated offenses within a year fines range from 200 to 500 rubles with confiscation of the goods for sale. We strongly recommend that those who like easy money think about the expedience of engaging in "street business."

Violent Crime Against Dissenters Grows in Moldavia

90UN1841A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA
in Russian 21 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by A. Dashkevich: "With Feet...On Dissidence."]

[Text] When we break the law, we break our moral principles, casting aside years of civil insight and sowing doubt about the opportunities for a fair organization of our entire life.

It was still not very late. But the number of passers-by in the streets had significantly diminished. At that time almost in the very center of Kishinev around the "Iskra" movie theater right at the entrance to the cash office, a group of adolescents in the full meaning of the word were jeering at a girl. I do not know whether she was one of the group, but two of them twisted her arms and pressing her against the wall, spat in her face; filthy, tacky swears accompanied all this. I tried to reason with them but six or seven well-fed accelerators approached me, and mouthing winy curses and swears, began to "persuade" me to clear out in one piece. A bicycle chain appeared in one of their hands, another began demonstratively to put on brass-knuckles.

An attempt to organize some of the passers-by to oppose the out-of-control scum was unsuccessful. Some just hurried up; others simply crossed the street, at most limiting

themselves to replies such as "Why associate with idiots!" or "Let the police take care of it."

For a long time my blood hammered at my temples; during that time I kept going over and over what had happened in my mind. I worried about my disturbing helplessness and again tried to find an answer to the question: What is happening to us, why are we losing our human essence!

The head of the republic's Kishinev UVD [Administration of Internal Affairs] inspector's department, police colonel K. Saltykov, citing figures about the dynamics of crime in the city, said uneasily that recently particularly dangerous crimes against people have increased and are continuing to multiply. These are premeditated murders, serious bodily injuries, robbery and theft. It is becoming all the more possible that you will go home and find a ransacked and vandalized apartment. The number of apartment burglaries has increased by 70 percent in the city just in the last part of the year.

In a word, all the signs are present of the phenomenon, which sociologists call destruction of the civilized reliability of an organized environment; that is, there are no guarantees that street tyranny with respect to the person will not appear. This phenomenon is frightful in its essence and possible consequences.

Alas, but any beginning is also its continuation. I mean, in the gathering tempo of the escalation of cruelty and violence, there is a beginning as well as factors that are a rich soil for their development. And the problem is not simply that the economy is lame in both legs. The current riots, with their many examples of the weakness of authorities, who make concession after concession to the day to day openly impudent extremist displays, give bad lessons of permissiveness in our republic.

We cannot be worried that the law of the gateway is being affirmed all the more in policy. There is every possible demonstration of force, rocks, bottles with incendiary mixtures and fist-fighting instead of the logic of argument. Very recently almost at the parade entrance to the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee building communists and the republic's people's deputies were insulted and assaulted. They were beaten because they have other views on some of today's political points. The signature of this "discussion" is well-known: arm twisting, spitting, kicking and even an attempt to strangle with a scarf.

In connection with this, it is impossible not to ask the question: Towards what sort of democracy are those who today are using similar approaches to promote their views, striving? In yesterday's totalitarian regime, the administrative and political dictatorship, which we are now discussing heatedly and unanimously, the will of those in power was unconditionally affirmed. But now the situation is similar in that someone has no intention of asking others' opinions, opposing him with the law of the gateway, where the fist has become the main argument.

A few days after the unparalleled escapade at the Moldavian CP Central Committee many people sounded off in the editorial page, indignantly assessing the event as proof of the fact that violence had ceased to be masked and act underhandedly—it had chosen the open and brazen-faced form of the physical repression of dissidence. They believed that a similar event would not be hushed up and the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet would give this proper and public evaluation and would demand decisive measures from the security organs to suppress any violence and lawlessness.

I heard the opinion that the cause of such a hush up was the reluctance to pour oil into the fire of opposition.

Yes, probably compromises are necessary. Concessions to one another are necessary, necessary without fail; tact and restraint are necessary in dealing with nationalists. But compromise with lawlessness is a path leading nowhere; it is a condemnation of democracy. Because the level of civilization has always been measured by obedience to the law.

The 23rd of February this year was sunny and warm like spring. Many flags were waving above Victory Square. But not red ones, not those under which Soviet people fought and perished in the cruel war with fascism, but tricolored ones instead. Yes, every people must be given the right to determine themselves with what colors their flag will blaze. But probably events and phenomena do exist in our common biography, and mockery of them is equal to insulting our own mother.

That day many slogans with the inscription: "Down with the occupational army!" rose above the square. An old Moldavian man passing by them could not hold back his tears. Tall and still strong despite his old age, he stopped at the edge of the square and with a denouncing shake of the head he said: "For sure, all this is like spit in a well..." He stood out from the mainly still very young crowd gathered in the square not only by his age but also by the highest decoration for a soldier's valor, the order of Glory, and by his crutches. Fedor Afanasyevich Vulpe lost a leg in the forced crossing of the Vistula. He lives in Yaloveny, came to Kishinev, and wore his war decoration especially because he is proud that he has worn an army overcoat and because he has been acting this way on Soviet Army Day for many consecutive years.

Under conditions of opposition and crisis there are always forces that undertake everything so as to direct popular dissatisfaction on a false course. In this case they shrink from nothing. Let's listen attentively today to the murmur of indignation. What is it about? Doesn't the form and essence of the placard circulated in Kishinev and hung in hot spots of the capital really answer this question? That placard, on which the USSR federation's flag lying on a tricolored base, is demonstratively displayed. It is already not far to another outcome from such a "democratic" way of stating an opinion. For example, to one such as occurred the 22nd of March at

the same place where these placards were hanging today. Then the police with difficulty pulled twins out from under the feet of the crowd.

With feet on dissidence... We cannot forget the lessons of history. A man wishing to live in a democratic society must remember which regimes began with trampling underfoot those who dared to express or utter a different point of view. Let's look back attentively at history! Don't its lessons indicate that social progress succeeded in making a dash forward, only when realization of the priority of human values over narrow national ones prevailed?

On a recent Sunday a group of several hundred people once again demonstrated a devil-may-care attitude towards the law. After assembling at the central square, they moved upwards along Pushkin Street, stopping the movement of transportation and shouting slogans and insults that were far from the goals of consolidation. We stopped along with the flow of transportation, against which the column moved. Sitting at the helm, the leader, who for some reason or other had hastily hoisted a glass, discussed aloud the fact that activity that was illegal in everyone's eyes was occurring, and that we had already got used to it and saw it all as reasonable itself.

Being accustomed to lawlessness is a bad omen. Nature, which has placed us among those similar to us, does not guarantee in the same way that our personal affirmations will necessarily control the interests of all the rest. The law also regulates the relationship of every person's interests with the interests of society. Destruction or subversion of the supremacy of the law has always led to civil chaos, violence and tragedies. Recent events that took place in certain regions of our country confirm this.

While interviewing the city procurator, V. Pener, I asked him: how does the law evaluate an event, when a man, who has met another man in the street, suddenly hits him in the face with his fist? This is considered hooliganism, the procurator explained to me, and for such action the criminal code stipulates deprivation of freedom for up to 5 years.

I shall try to explain the results of the investigation of the murder and robbery of the ATEM photographer; these events took place during one of the meetings in the center of Kishinev. It turned out that the criminal proceeding stopped in a manner of speaking, because of the impossibility of establishing who killed the journalist.

Actually, conducting such an investigation is complex. But isn't the ensuing escalation of violence the result of the helplessness or reluctance of the security organs to bring the exposure of each such crime to a final determination?

For some reason public organizations and security organs pass over in silence the fact that original groups do exist and are operating; the guiding force of these organizations, the very same group tyranny, may be seen

with the naked eye. In a letter to the editor a retired teacher from Kishinev correctly asked: "What is happening if even the chairman of the City Soviet of People's Deputies, N. Kostin, before a crowd of many thousands of people openly urged the Popular Front Guard to be ready for battle? Against whom should the guard fight? Not against those who do not agree with the political orientations of the popular front? And isn't the murder of people for dissidence already the handiwork of precisely those young people in the guard?"

Speaking frankly, it is difficult not to share this woman's concern. And it is hard to refrain from asking deputy N. Kostin this question: Does the orientation of the city soviet's leader to the power of hitting lead to consolidation? What does the deputy's stance have in common with lawfulness and the sacred obligation to fight to affirm democratic principles? How should we understand the leader and guides for similar methods of resolving political differences of opinion? I think that a man who heads the city soviet does not have the right to be directed only by his own national priorities. Because the Soviet government is Soviet precisely so as to achieve harmony while maintaining the interests of people of all nationalities.

There is no doubt that the time and historical problems of restructuring require above all from each of us a clear head. Fate has placed our history and the future of our children in our hands, and persistently reminds us: the simplest and yet most complex thing is to be human. And it is impossible for us not to understand this.

Quality of Legal Co-ops in Turkmen SSR Criticized

90UN1844A Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA
in Russian 27 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with V. A. Bolkhovitinov, chairman of the cooperative, "Yuriskonsult" by correspondent A. Putorkin, place, date not given: "Cooperatives, Ways of Development: To Be Or Not To Be?"]

[Text] **There are ten legal cooperatives now in the republic. Three of them are in Ashkhabad. Our part-time correspondent A. Putorkin is interviewing the chairman of the "Yuriskonsult" cooperative, V. A. Bolkhovitinov, about the problems and duties in providing legal services for people, enterprises and organizations.**

[Putorkin] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, what are your guidelines in creating a cooperative?

[Bolkhovitinov] By working many years as a lawyer in the economy I know how important qualified legal assistance is to enterprises, how they bear losses, and when they might avoid them. We understood that the demand for experienced lawyers would be guaranteed. Legal advice lawyers because of their number are not always in a state to serve the citizens fully, to give a thorough answer or to decide finally one affair or another. Our

cooperative sees citizens in the evenings and on holidays, and for many problems is free.

[Putorkin] The cooperative charter provides more than 30 forms of legal services. How have you set up your relationship with the enterprises?

[Bolkhovitinov] The enterprises' collaboration with the cooperative proved to be not only profitable for them but also convenient. After a year of working with the cooperative the enterprises put into its account or saved more than two million rubles. Cooperative legal costs do not require expenditures from the payroll fund since services are paid for as "other expenses" and not in cash but by transfer through Gosbank. This simplifies control of the cooperative's financial activity. In addition to remuneration for the final results, we operate by the principle of complete material responsibility, whereas the state lawyer and even more the contracted lawyer are not really responsible for their mistakes. The client has a right to refuse payment for services, the quality of which does not suit him. We are very careful of his reputation and try not to allow errors.

[Putorkin] There are 12 lawyers in your cooperative; 9 of them work under a labor contract with enterprises. How do you distribute the income and what is it? What is the remunerative system?

[Bolkhovitinov] First, I have to say that in our co-op each person receives what he earns. There is no wage-leveling. Work under conditions of a cooperative makes it possible to work by opportunity and by demand. Thus, the only pensioner working here decided that a small supplement to her pension fully suited her, and she serves the organization with a small volume of work for a salary of 60 rubles a month. Another colleague undertook servicing large enterprises with remuneration as a whole of 600-700 rubles, but he "works round the clock" which means day and night. Estimations of his work are good.

In the case of illness or the absence of a colleague, we have in effect the principle of substitution.

[Putorkin] Changes were recently introduced by the "Decree of the Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet of 9 November 1989, "About Income Tax from Cooperatives". Now the income tax rate has been established at 30 percent of the profit. How is this reflected in the activity of your cooperative and the material incentive of its members?

[Bolkhovitinov] The lawyers will leave the cooperative. Now we are working on the problem of self-liquidation in association with lack of profit. Really our organization is non-profit, since we do not produce anything and we do not exceed a set period of work. If before the last decree the total size of all money paid was 33 percent of the whole profit, now it is 60 percent. With such a proposition it is impossible to retain money to develop

the cooperative and to create a money reserve to cover possible losses, caused the client through the cooperative's fault, etc.

[Putorkin] To encourage services and work the population needs, the Decree of 9 November 1989 by the Local Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee granted the right to reduce the tax rate for a certain period or to free individual cooperatives from taxation. How did the executive committee resolve the question of the amount of taxes for your cooperative?

[Bolkhovitinov] So far, it has not. No one has asked us. Everything has been decided briefly and simply: without taking into consideration the specifics of our work, we have been taxed the amount stipulated by the decree for cooperatives "for different types of activity". To settle accounts with the financial organs for the third quarter, we have to work at least two months without pay. During the year no one was interested in our cooperative's work; no one checked it or gave us any cooperation or assistance. The executive committee allotted space—a room 12 meters square with a messed up floor, a sewer system running under it and the main thing—without a telephone. Ill, weak and aged invalids could not come to us or receive advice by phone; for this category of people service is free, but alas... In regard to this not only the "Yuriskonsult" workers but the citizens themselves appealed in all instances. What comes out of this is that necessary business cannot win over the right to life.

[Putorkin] Would it be unjust to ask the executive committee for "personal" understanding for each cooperative; certainly they are growing like mushrooms, and not only the executive committee but also all the controlling organs are simply not in a condition to examine all their activity. How could it be analyzed, if a department of two or three workers handles the work of all the cooperatives, for instance, in the Soviet region?

[Bolkhovitinov] I agree, it would not be bad to use some form of control, even without enlisting additional workers and money. The consumer operations organizations of the gostorginspekttsiya [Main Administration of State Quality Inspection of Goods and State Trade Inspection] controls the work of the Gostorg [State Import-Export Trade Office] stores, etc. We must assign similar functions to the department for cooperatives' operation in the regional executive committee. Citizens might send their remarks to it, turn to it with complaints about bad service, low quality of products, inflated prices; data about the inspections of medical and epidemic stations, Gospozhnadzor [State Fire Inspection], Goskomsen, OBKhSS [Department for combatting the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation], national control, etc. will be directed to it. The department of cooperatives' operation has only to collect these signals and, to the extent they accumulate, prepare material for an executive committee session, where the question of whether such a cooperative will exist or not exist will be resolved. And in this will be evident one of the manifestations of democracy and glasnost, influence

and control over the work of the cooperatives, natural selection and healthy socialistic competition.

The members of the "Adalat" legal cooperative also support this proposal. They believe competition is necessary in the area of the defence of citizens' rights and interests, if only between lawyers from the legal advice office and cooperative lawyers; this competition would force both to the widest extent possible to prepare better materials, to study the affair, and to defend their clients qualitatively. There will not be enough lawyers with the adoption of the law that permits a counsel for the defense from the time of detainment or arrest or from the presentation of the accusation. Legal cooperatives could assist in this. But alas...the "Adalat" cooperative is on the way to self-liquidation. The reason lies not only the increase in taxes but also in those difficulties and obstacles that have arisen in the cooperative's way.

For example, participation in civil and criminal legal proceedings. On this question in April 1989 a joint explanatory letter, saying that members of legal cooperatives have the right by law to be representatives in court and to defend citizens' interests and rights in the presence of a power of attorney or commission to the cooperative, was sent to all courts, public procurators and internal affairs organs. However, in the opinion of the "Adalat" cooperative, the Soviet and Lenin regional people's court ignored the posture of the law. Enterprise leaders were reluctant to conclude agreements and spend money on "some kind of general and universal legal education", declaring that lecturers of the "Znaniye" society and its lawyers read and conduct business in their enterprise. But a general and universal educational system is really needed! Otherwise, the resolutions of the 19th Party Conference of February (1988) of the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will remain only on paper. Certainly, isn't a general and universal legal educational system on housing legislation necessary in ZhET, not only for workers of the ZHEU trust but also for wide masses of the population? Aren't purposeful studies on the preservation of socialist property necessary for other enterprises where embezzlement is permitted and stealing is not stopped?

Neither personal contacts with the leaders nor turning for assistance to the Soviet RK [Republic Committee] of the Turkmen Communist Party helped. A legal state cannot be built with such an attitude towards questions about the legal management culture and study of Soviet legislation.

—And maybe—V. A. Bolkhovitinov suggests, while the legal cooperatives have not yet fallen apart, they be combined into one—in the city central committee. This will facilitate interaction with enterprises, reduce the cooperatives' internal expenses and, to provide the population with legal services, increases the number of legal stations, making them closer to residential clusters.

Generally, there are enough questions and proposals, although their solution in most cases depends on the initiative, persistence, and enthusiasm of cooperative lawyers themselves. Nevertheless, the solution of the main question—should the cooperatives exist or not exist—depends on the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies. I think that the lawyer's union should not be outside this problem.

P.S. While this material was being prepared, the editorial staff hoped that "Yuriskonsult"'s requests and petitions to call attention to the cooperative's disastrous situation and to reexamine the decision made earlier about the 30 percent tax would be heard, but after almost four months V. Bolkhovintinov's letter, sent to the executive committee of the Soviet regional soviet of people's deputies has not been considered.

Moscow Narcotics Seminar Announced, Joint Soviet-British Operation Cited

90WD0345A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 17 May 90, p 3

[Article by V. Skripnik, chief of the USSR GUGTK [Main Administration for State Customs Control] Administration for customs regulations with an introduction by V. Aushev: "The 'Diplomat' Operation"]

[Text] Moscow has been selected to host the 1990 international seminar on "Fighting Transit Drug Trafficking". The seminar will be held by the USSR Main Administration for State Customs Control (GUGTK).

During the 4 days of the seminar its participants will review the development tendencies of the illegal drug trade; they will talk about the techniques used to stop the drug trafficking. The seminar aims to consolidate the efforts of the customs services of the drug-originating, transit, and consumer countries.

A special part of the discussions will deal with the mutual operations on what is known as the controlled delivery. This method allows importing or exporting batches of "white death" or the transporting of them through the territory of one or several countries; this is done with the knowledge and under the surveillance of the proper organs with the view to uncover the smugglers. In other words it is done with the purpose of keeping an eye on the movement of the suspicious cargoes.

Over 150,000 containers pass through the Soviet Union every year. It is practically impossible to "figure out" in which containers the narcotics are hidden if you do not possess considerable working experience, proper professionalism, and the super sensitive "nose" of a customs officer. Our customs officials are fully endowed with all these qualities. In the last 3 years, together with their colleagues from Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, and Sweden, they acted successfully enough to confiscate and destroy over 11 tons of drugs. Their operation "Diplomat", conducted by the Soviet

and British customs services, did the international drug ring out of 3.5 tons of hashish valued at over 10 million pounds sterling. Great Britain witnessed a 2-year long trial. The chief of the USSR GUGTK Administration for customs regulations V. Skripnik took part in the trial as a witness for the prosecution.

We would like to offer to the *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* readers V. Skripnik's story about this sensational case which became a kind of a milestone in the relations between the customs services of the USSR and Great Britain.

V. Aushev

It was an early, hot August morning. An operations group of the Moscow and Main Administration customs services came to the freight terminal of one of the Moscow railroads. The "attack force" was expecting the flat cars with transit cargo containers from Afghanistan to pull up to the warehouses any minute now.

There at last came the freight train. After it did the switching the electric locomotive went away leaving several flat cars on the siding. They carried the very containers which had attracted special attention as soon as they appeared on the territory of the USSR.

The Termez customs officials mastered the basics of the transit cargo control methodology designed by the USSR GUGTK administration for prevention of smuggling. On top of that they also amended this methodology with their own ideas which enabled them to put up a major obstacle to drug trafficking. It was in Termez that they started to find drugs hidden in the containers.

This time our Termez colleagues went further than just fulfilling all the formalities. They thoroughly examined the accompanying papers and decided that four of the containers were of an operational interest and needed a detailed search.

No, the documents themselves did not provide any grounds for suspicions. However, the information about the route, destination and the type of the cargo, about its forwarding agents and wholesale buyers—senders, added to the inexplicable professional intuition, led to definite conclusions. As a result the containers went to Moscow in the wake of a message from Termez with the local customs officers' speculations about the cargo.

August 31, 1987. Before opening the first of the containers it was thoroughly examined. Then the officers removed the sealing pin which was blocking the access to the cargo. Inside they found stacks of sacks with licorice. It took them a long time to pull the stacks apart. Each sack was examined with the help of a special control equipment.

Success came only after they unloaded about a third of the container. They got to the sacks piled by the wall opposite the door and then they discovered the presence of some alien, rather hard objects. They opened the sack and pulled out a cloth bag with 20 rectangular packets.

The dark brown, almost black substance was pressure-treated and had a specific strong odor which made it similar to hashish. The approximate analysis confirmed that it really was hashish.

All in all they found hashish in 52 sacks from container No. 8000890. Some of the sacks had a picture of a lion on them and some inscriptions in Arabic.

The same substance was found in sacks of licorice in container No. 2561238 addressed to the same destination in England as seen from the general railroad bill of lading. This batch was considerably larger: hashish was found in 112 sacks. Certain evidence uncovered during the search affirmed that the narcotic was of the Pakistani origin.

The confiscation papers together with the drugs were immediately handed over to the investigating organs. However, both the senders of the "cargo" and the addressees of the tons of poison were obviously outside our country and the investigators decided that it was pointless to continue with their case.

It seemed quite clear that the only thing to do was to confiscate and destroy the hashish and thus put an end to the whole story. But the GUGTK decided differently. They wanted to uncover the real mafiosi with the help of the British customs, by using the controlled delivery method. London accepted the idea with gratitude and understanding even though there were no official agreements with them. The working contacts and the opinions exchange climaxed in the arrival of our English colleagues in Moscow. The meetings that we had here proved our complete mutual understanding. The decision to conduct a joint operation was later confirmed officially.

Many more times they checked the sequence of actions for each of the sides as well as the details of shipping the containers along their route which had been interrupted in Moscow. Their final destination was the port of Tilbury in Great Britain. But this operation, unprecedented in the practice of the USSR customs, had to have a legal basis; they had to conscientiously allow a contraband shipment across the state border. And allow it to go to a capitalist country at that!

Our understanding of the drug abuse and drug trafficking problem which presupposes a certain mechanism of international cooperation coincided with the opinions of the governments of both countries. The governments of the USSR and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland signed a memorandum of understanding on the cooperation in this area. So the two containers were again loaded with the licorice bags (with hashish in them) in the presence of the British representatives. Then they were sent by railroad to Leningrad where they were put on the "Baltic Osprey" ship among other cargoes and the ship sailed to the shores of Albion.

The boat arrived to Tilbury at night. From there the containers were immediately trucked to the London

customs house. The English took it from there and the final stage of the joint operation "Diplomat" began. After the narcotics were taken out the shipment was returned to the port storage facility.

We have to give due credit to the professionalism of our British colleagues from the customs and excise collection offices. They had put quite an effort into the full disclosure of the well disguised group that was expecting the shipment. As it turned out the hashish from the controlled delivery was just one episode in a well adjusted chain of drug smuggling into England. This very episode made it possible for the investigators to find the indisputable proof of the crimes committed by the international drug ring.

A message came from London finally. The Chelmsford Royal Court sentenced five people to various prison terms and ordered the confiscation of more than 3 million pounds sterling.

Such was the end of the Soviet-English operation "Diplomat".

Criminal Violations in Economy Detailed

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SSSR: SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA in Russian
No 2, Mar-Apr 90 pp 102-113

[Article by N. B. Yegorov: "The Shadow Economy and Economic Crime"]

[Text] The author focuses attention on the interaction of various types of illegal economic activity (insider theft, report padding, speculation, organized crime, corruption, and others) combined in the one concept "shadow economy." The article reveals the reasons for its appearance, the factors in the persistence of this phenomenon, and measures to fight against it. The activities of so-called "slick operators" of the shadow economy are examined in detail.

The political, economic, and social processes occurring in the country have a direct impact on crime in the country. In conditions of perestroika and the difficulties the country is undergoing, the numerous cases of legal offenses in the economic sphere which do great material and moral harm to society cause justifiable resentment.

The growth of the shadow economy and insider theft, speculation, cases of hiding scarce goods in trade and deceiving consumers, and illegal actions in the sphere of cooperative and individual labor activity as well as in the sphere of foreign economic ties cause special concern.

Various types of slick operators have become significantly more active on the consumer goods and services market, including the cooperative sector, by taking advantage of the flaws in the regulation of economic

activity within the framework of various forms of ownership in order to exact nonlabor income.

With the change in attitude toward the previous system of economic management and the development of cooperation and individual labor activity, control over the sources of income and its amounts has been substantially weakened; and in connection with that only certain small groups of people—cooperative members and slick operators of the shadow economy, as well as a small number of workers and managers—have improved their material conditions against the background of the deteriorating economic situation and polarization of interests in the last 4 years. From that comes the, in our opinion, justifiable conclusion that an increase in the number of mercenary crimes is inevitable given the reduced standard of living of the population, inflation, and the increasing shortage of an ever-growing number of industrial goods and foodstuffs. In 1989 the proportion of mercenary crimes reached 57 percent [Source 7].

Understanding the circumstances noted helps correctly explain the mechanism of formation of the shadow economy and its interaction with economic crime and the meaning and system of organizational, economic, and legal measures in the struggle against these negative phenomena. Without claiming to make an exhaustive examination of these issues, the main attention will be focused on the criminological aspect of the problem using the example of the personal services sphere, which in our opinion is the main field of activity of the slick operators of the shadow economy today.

An attempt at a criminological analysis of the correlation between the shadow economy and economic crime and nonlabor income,¹ as well as the character of the activity of the so-called slick operators of the shadow economy, who act as the brain center of the organized forms of economic crime in the country, may be of definite scientific and practical interest.

There is no definition of the concept of shadow economy as any normative act and there is no uniform point of view on this issue in juridical and economic literature.

Some authors examine this issue in the narrow sense. In their opinion, the shadow economy consists of individual labor activity which is not registered with state organs and therefore not controlled and not regulated by them to the proper degree [see Source 14].

In the broad sense the shadow economy is made up of all types of economic activity conducted illegally or in violation of an established law or other normative acts concerning law and order for purposes of nonlabor enrichment. In the first case we are speaking of the commission of economic crimes and other violations of the law involving illegal enterprise and in the second—intentional distortions for the purposes of extracting nonlabor income using the method of permissible economic activity by workers in state, cooperative, and other social enterprises, organizations, and institutions

(among them joint ventures, those operating on cooperative principles or on the basis of the brigade, family, rental, or individual contract, and the like).

The viewpoint under which "extending the concept of the 'shadow' economy and including in it not only obvious economic crime (let us call it the 'black' economy), but also all types of economic activity which are unaccounted for, unregulated, or different from forms of economic activity laid out in normative documents and rules" [Source 19] seems preferable to us.² Under this approach the structure of the shadow economy can be represented as the sum of the following four elements: the unlegalized part of the so-called "second" economy; the informal economy; the false economy; and the "black" economy (see [Source 19]).

However, if one analyzes each of the structural elements named, one can see that they involve characteristics of the "black" economy directly involving economic crime and criminally punishable methods of carrying on permissible economic activity or involvement in prohibited types.

Taking this into account, the conclusion may be drawn that economic crime is the shadow economy taken to the utmost degree of illegality.

In mentioning the correlation between the shadow economy and economic crime and nonlabor income, one should emphasize a number of fundamental points. Nonlabor income, as the result of various illegal actions (crimes, administrative, labor, and financial violations of the law, and civil and legal offenses), do substantial material, social, and ideological harm by obstructing realization of the constitutional principle of distribution by labor, control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, and implementation of the principles of social justice. Frequently nonlabor income creates a breeding ground and more often serves as the material basis for the organized criminal activity of insider-thieves, bribe-takers, speculators, and so-called slick operators of the shadow economy.

According to scientists' estimates, the income of organized crime is enormous: 1 out of 3 rubles issued by Gosbank is circulated in the sphere of the shadow economy [Source 10]. According to some estimates, in the Azerbaijani SSR alone the slick operators of the shadow economy control one-fifth of the republic's national income (see [Source 4]). According to various estimates, there are from 70-90 to 100-150 billion rubles in the sphere of the shadow economy. Certain researchers assert that the "value" of the shadow economy is comparable to the volume of the country's retail commodity turnover, that is, its "budget" is at least 300-350 billion rubles.³ According to other specialists' estimates, the scope of the shadow economy is growing and is valued at 40-50 billion rubles. In our opinion, this figure may also be questioned if one takes into account that the income of speculators in industrial

goods alone, according to estimates of USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], is 1.1 billion rubles a year and the annual losses from shortfalls, insider theft, and spoilage is more than 4 billion rubles [Source 16]. On the whole nonproduction expenditures and losses in the national economy, even according to official data, exceed 24 billion rubles. And one should bear in mind that poorly thought-out financial measures, in relationship to cooperation for example, can substantially expand the scope of the shadow economy. Thus it has been estimated that the exodus of some of the cooperatives to the shadow economy (the possibility of such a outcome was linked to adoption of the Ukase on Taxation of Cooperatives in the first variant) will result in the growth of that economy by 3-4 billion rubles and a corresponding decline in the volume of the legal economy [Source 17].

The object of the shadow economy includes production and turnover as well as the services sphere. As production's response to the shortcomings of planned and material-technical supply with its chronic and frequently artificial shortages, the shadow economy in the production sphere objectively causes economic crime which arises in connection with violations of the basic principle of socialism—distribution by labor. Practice, for example, confirms that unrealistic plans established by various economic units very often result in account-padding to illegally receive exaggerated wages and bonuses, while failure to link plans to material-technical supply results in bribes for nonfund allocations of processed and raw materials, semimanufactures, and equipment. And bribes are given not only for unauthorized issue of these materials (items), but also for help in obtaining orders for their delivery.

Seriously violating the normal production ties of enterprises and distorting the planning principle of material-technical supply and financing, bribery and extortion are widespread in objects of trade, supply and marketing, health care, municipal services, and the agroindustrial complex. The new wave of bribery is obviously related to the shadow aspects of the individual-cooperative sector of the economy as well as the credit-financial sphere. Thus, in the city of Naftalan in Azerbaijani SSR when members of the horticultural community apply for bank loans they must give the appropriate officials 100 rubles for each thousand rubles requested. Some Moscow cooperatives were involved in brokering transactions with state enterprises to turn their noncash funds into cash by offering exchange at a rate of 1 to 3.

Even today final economic results are frequently achieved by ignoring existing legal norms or violating them directly; and that results in the appearance of elements of the shadow economy related in these conditions to diverse types of economic crimes which in their totality make up economic crime. "Analysis of the economy as a social institution and of the social norms which function here and the roles which are fulfilled shows that the commodity-money relations 'driven into the underground' 'suddenly' manifested themselves in

the deformed appearance of the 'shadow' economy with its inevitable concomitants—corruption and particularly extensive insider theft, and normal material interest—in a distorted form of bribes, 'extortion,' theft in production, and the like" [Source 20, p 6]. In other words, if because the economic mechanism is flawed, the economy impedes the satisfaction of social needs for material blessings (products and services), these needs can bring to life a type of economic activity which may not be in keeping with the existing norms of the law, including criminal law; that is, elements of the shadow economy caused by uncontrolled redistribution of material assets may be activated (see [Source 20, p 49]).

In order to illustrate the criminological situation in the sphere of economics, including in the services sphere, we will cite the following data. In the first half of 1989 violations of the established procedure for selling scarce goods were revealed in one out of three of the state trade and public catering enterprises checked.

According to USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], in 1988 165,300 thefts of state and public property, 87,500 cases of insider theft, and 42,500 cases of speculation were identified in the country. In 1986-1987 1.6 million petty thieves were arrested and in 1988 more than 250,000. One-third of the crimes recorded in the sphere of economics are committed in the agroindustrial complex. In 1988 losses from shortfalls and theft amounted to 613 million rubles and the latter accounted for 154.6 million rubles. In characterizing the hidden levels of certain types of crimes as well as their distribution in certain sectors of the economy, specialists assert the following. In all only about 2 percent of the cases of bribes are discovered, while for insider theft in meat and dairy industry and local industry the figures are 6 percent and 25 percent respectively, and in trade—46 percent. According to data of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for Combating Theft of Socialist Property [GUBKhSS], every year the population overpays a minimum of 5 billion rubles more for goods bought at the market than if they had acquired them in the state trade network. Every year more than 5,000 workers behind the counter and in public catering are brought to trial for theft alone. In 1988 the number of thefts discovered in the USSR Ministry of Trade system alone rose from 6,900 to 8,700. An especially alarming situation has taken shape in objects of public catering where one out of every three crimes committed in state trade is recorded.

As practice shows, insider thefts and other abuses at domestic services enterprises involved in making garments, knitted items, and shoes are most widespread. It is precisely to these subsectors, where scarce raw materials (leather, yarn, and fabric), accessories, and other material valuables are concentrated, that shadow economy operators turn, using bribes to open shops and acquire equipment and raw and processed materials and under the guise of "small batches" manufacture and sell unaccounted-for goods. The scale of criminal activity is

such there that the losses caused by some theft runs into the hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of rubles.

The economic activity of enterprises and organizations of this sphere also has its own specifics. The following are characteristic of many of them: combination of production functions with trade functions; diverse types of services rendered to the population and goods produced, different procedures for filling out orders and receiving and accounting for raw and processed materials and revenue; and a large number of price lists.

All this makes it more difficult to monitor complete recording of revenue and to ensure the objectivity of technical-economic indicators of plan fulfillment in reports and promotes mercenary crimes and other violations of the law involving extracting nonlabor income. Thus, for example, many employees of the services sphere take advantage of their official position and are involved in obtaining scarce goods and reselling them at higher prices in hotels, entertainment and recreation sites for working people, medical institutions, and enterprises, organizations, and institutions. Moreover, one should bear in mind that in the sphere of personal services a growing trend is for thieves and speculators to combine. Because of the changes in the economic mechanism of the services sphere, "intersectorial cooperation" by thieves in the domestic services system and the trade, light, and furniture industries as well as in other sectors of the economy for whom rendering services is not the main task is also appearing.

A very substantial proportion of private service remains in the services sphere. Specialists have estimated that the income of private service in the services field alone amounts to 5-6 billion rubles a year. This is comparable to what the domestic services system, which numbers up to 20 million employees, receives for its work. Nonetheless, the population's unsatisfied demand for services alone is estimated at 5.5 billion rubles [Source 9]. According to the estimation of V.G. Kostakov and V.M. Rutgayzer, the total number of people moonlighting in the unofficial services sphere reaches up to 17-18 million. The volume of jobs done by the "shadow" services sphere reached 14-16 billion rubles in the mid-1980s [Source 15].⁴

The figures cited graphically attest to the existence of a number of problems whose analysis largely explains the causes of the emergence and prolonged existence of criminal factors in the economic mechanism of the sectors of the personal service sphere which result in the existence of the shadow economy as a whole. Taking this into account, in our opinion, the attempt of some scientists to resort to analyzing the socioeconomic features of the overall economic mechanism of the services sphere which create favorable opportunities for committing various mercenary crimes and other violations of the law there seems fruitful. Such scientific studies seem especially interesting now that the cooperative movement and individual labor activity are developing and

various forms of the brigade, family, and rental contract are being introduced in different sectors of the personal services sphere.

I should say that up until recently economic science has not devoted the proper attention to a very important phenomenon discovered long ago by V.I. Lenin—the possibility, under certain conditions, for a specific form of simple commodity production to function on the basis of public means of production (see [Source 1]).

The main cause of the existence of this phenomenon is that in our society, which has eliminated the basic contradiction between production and the consumer, the structure of production is by no means in complete line with the structure of consumption (see [Source 5]). That is the origin of the shortage of certain goods and services which creates favorable ground for the operation of the shadow economy and various types of crimes and other violations of the law in the sphere of production and services.

Another reason why the services sphere has become the main field of activity of the shadow economy is that in some of its objects the product of labor does not acquire tangible material form—for many people the main indication that no product is being produced in this sphere at all and hence, there is no need to monitor the appropriation of the results of this production. In addition, it is precisely services which are the main link of the shadow economy, since the person who renders them (services) directly appropriates money intended to pay for this service, infringing on the owners of the means of production. In this connection, some authors draw the justifiable conclusion, in our opinion, that cases of the discrepancy between the structure of production and the structure of consumption are the main economic cause of the appearance of nonlabor income which builds up in the production sphere. But by creating a shortage of some goods and an excess of others, this circumstance acts as an essential prerequisite of the formation of nonlabor income in the sphere of turnover [Source 5].

Directing attention to the scarcity of certain goods (services), shadow economy operators use the law of value, supply, and demand for their own purposes and interests, often to the detriment of society. If goods disappear from sale, you can buy them from speculators, since the latter for their part obtained them at higher prices (with a surcharge) from workers in state trade. The latter essentially act as a private seller. The difference in price (surcharge) for workers in the services sphere is the main but not the only source of nonlabor income [Source 5].

In the overwhelming majority of cases insider theft, bribe-taking, and involvement in private enterprise activity are directly "built in" to the economic mechanism of the services sphere, whose distinguishing feature is, as was noted above, a combination of production and trade functions.

The significant crime-fostering effect of this factor lies in the fact that it determines the entire mechanism of theft in the services sphere: the creation of excess raw and processed materials—production of unaccounted-for output and its sale directly by manufacturers to the population, bypassing the enterprises' finished goods warehouses—and appropriation of monetary capital. And most often the thieves prove to be materially accountable persons of precisely those enterprises of the services sphere which combine the above-named functions.

The activity of organizers of group theft, bribery, and speculation and other crimes in the sphere of economics and underground business as a whole is of a different nature. Their appearance, as the literature shows, is a result of the fact that economic crimes have a common feature—they are committed by social (or rather antisocial) groups with their structure of criminal ties and relationships which directly oppose the normative structure of the socialist economy (see [Source 20, p 43]). But what are the role and characteristic traits of the organizers of these crimes?

Knowledge of the criminological portrait of the shadow economy operator has practical importance since one must not keep silent about the existence in our society of organized forms of economic crime—qualitatively new extremist manifestations of the shadow economy. The mafia groupings and formations who make up organized crime unite in their ranks shadow economy operators, corrupt employees of the management apparatus, monitoring and law enforcement organs, social organizations, and management links of the services sphere, as well as direct organizers and enforcers of the "designs" of their bosses from among the demoralized part of workers and employees and criminal elements. Characteristic of them is the existence and constant expansion of interregional and intersectorial ties among certain criminal groups. The basis of this trend is the shortage of raw materials, especially consumer goods, on the one hand, and the expanded rights of enterprises to establish direct contract relations with one another, on the other hand. The corrupt officials who belong to these groups provide particular strength and protection from exposure.

In many regions corrupt groupings which were formed on the grounds of family and compatriot ties and have patrons among highly placed managers have even become established. The participants in criminal formations regularly give them bribes for their patronage, job promotion, and the opportunity to extract nonlabor income, thereby creating a unique kind of pyramid or chain of bribes. Large amounts of nonlabor income which are put into circulation in the shadow economy are accumulated at certain levels of this pyramid. It is apparent that one can assert that extremist forces which are the organizers of interethnic confrontations in some of the country's regions are financed precisely from this capital.

The following terms are used in juridical literature to indicate the category of persons under examination: shadow economy operators, thieves, guild members ["tsekhoviks"], organizers of underground shops and sections, and others.

Without entering into polemics on the issue of the correctness of the existence of the various terms, let us merely point out that common to all of them is the fact that they signify the most dangerous category of criminals active in the economic sphere—organizers or leaders of hidden criminal groups of thieves, bribe-takers, speculators, operator-entrepreneurs, illegal craftsmen, and others who employ ordinarily illegal forms of production and illegally render services to the population (for example, by "buying favors," using hired labor, "dual" bookkeeping, and so on).

Another distinguishing feature of their activity is that in creating or heading a criminal group, the organizer tries to make the most nonlabor income possible. A kind of "expansion" of their criminal activity is observed; in the process of that expansion theft of socialist property, bribery, private enterprise activity, speculation, and sometimes even other mercenary and violent mercenary criminally punishable acts are committed.

This category of criminals is usually the initiator in the creation (opening) of subsidiary shops at kolkhozes and sovkhoses, including the production of nonspecialization output, and shoe and other shops to produce consumer goods and souvenirs at enterprises of the domestic services system, light and local industry, and various pseudocooperatives. Frequently mass production of unaccounted-for output and its sale to the population in other regions is organized as a result of their activity and new people get involved in criminal activity. They may also organize underground shops or even cooperatives not only under cover of state or social organizations but even in the sphere of individual labor activity. And this circumstance, in our opinion, should not serve as grounds to rule out the accountability of this category of persons for private enterprise activity. The following points may serve as arguments in support of our viewpoint.

When theft as recorded in Article 92 of the RSFSR Criminal Code is committed, the receipt of nonlabor income is, for example, the result of a materially accountable person or official illegally converting socialist property from the funds of a state or social organization to his own ownership. When private enterprise activity is carried out, the receipt of nonlabor income appears in the form of private profits, and that is regardless of whether or not a state or social organization was used as a cover.

However, according to existing laws, a mandatory feature of private enterprise activity is that socialist forms of economic activity be used as a cover for private enterprise or these forms be used to mask illegal activity [Source 3, p 644]. In addition, in our opinion, the social

danger of this crime is by no means reduced but in certain cases increases if the criminals attempt to revive and revitalize principles of private ownership production and distribution which are alien to socialist society without using socialist forms or without these forms being used as a cover for private enterprise activity, for example within the framework of individual labor activity.

We are speaking of the exploitation of hired labor when goods are produced or services rendered in the sphere of domestic, cultural, or other services to the population. Moreover, using hired labor is indicated as one of the qualifying features, for example, of involvement in prohibited forms of individual labor activity [Source 2, No 22, p 364]. The unacceptability of using hired labor within the framework of permitted types of individual labor activity as well stems from the sense of the law. Thus, in accordance with Article 1 of the USSR Law on Individual Labor Activity, individual labor activity with the involvement of hired labor for the purpose of extracting nonlabor income or to the detriment of other social interests is not allowed [Source 3, No 47, p 964].

However, as the study of practice shows, shadow economy operators skillfully use loopholes in current laws to extract substantial nonlabor income within the framework of permitted types of individual labor activity; they employ hired labor and personally take a very insignificant part in manufacturing the output, which nonetheless prevents them from being brought to trial for speculation.⁵

In our opinion, a special norm should be envisioned within the framework of the reform of criminal law which establishes criminal responsibility for illegal enterprise accompanied by the use of socialist forms as a cover or the use of hired labor.⁶

The analysis being made by the law enforcement organs of the conditions of the speculative market may also suggest the directions of the struggle against the shadow economy. Organizing purposeful measures to identify and stop the activity of organizers of criminal groups seems possible on the basis of this analysis. Thus, for example, in the Lithuanian SSR it was established during analysis of the conditions of the speculative market that craft items occupy a significant place in the structure of objects of speculation in industrial goods. It was also taken into account that every year in criminal and administrative cases the republic's internal affairs organs confiscate up to 20,000 hand-made knitted items which are not in demand among the local population but are bought up primarily by visiting citizens. Measures for the struggle against group and interregional speculation in hand-made knitted items as well as theft of thread, yarn, and other raw materials which are necessary to make these items were developed and implemented on the basis of the results of the analysis of the current situation.

As the study of practice shows, for many regions of the country it is characteristic that various types of handicraft production are the most widespread objects of speculation: hand-knitted items, shoes, women's accessories (clips, bracelets, pendants, and the like), articles made of denim and so-called "varenka" using trademarks of foreign firms, and other objects in high demand manufactured in illegal shops.

Thus, in some regions of the country the implementation of a complex of operational search measures and investigative actions in criminal cases instituted against organizers of illegal shops and other participants in criminal groups resulted in the detection of numerous ties between shadow economy operators with supply and marketing organizations and places where stolen raw and processed materials were kept as well as places where manufactured output was sold.

Moreover, cases are known in practice where whole groups of people violating the established procedure for being involved in individual labor activity but selling their output through "individual" craftsmen who have the appropriate registration certificates or licenses of financial organs join the path of illegal private enterprise. These groups may also be subordinate to one person (or group of persons) from among the shadow economy operators. In some regions of the country they have expressed the intention of using as cover for their illegal activity "individuals" from among the internationalist soldiers who became disabled during service in Afghanistan as part of the limited military contingent. And the "individuals" who have registration certificates or licenses of financial organs often sell, as practice shows, substantially more items than they produce. Usually this is the result of producing the same kind of output as enterprises of the domestic services system or local and light industry. Frequently semimanufactures and fittings as well as drawings, patterns, molds, and the like stolen from state objects may be used when this output is produced. The role of organizers is very large in these groups.

Along with the individual-cooperative sector of the economy and objects of the domestic services system, there are also considerable opportunities for this category of criminals to make nonlabor income at enterprises of local industry, auxiliary shops at kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and the like. Thus, for example, many shops and sections with a closed production cycle in the domestic services system and at enterprises of local industry and artistic professions and enterprises which produce souvenirs are the object of fixed attention from shadow economy operators.

As a result of violations of production technology at these objects, surpluses of raw and processed materials are created and they are used to manufacture unaccounted-for output. Therefore the posts of shop head or chief, foremen, and cashier-receivers are considered very desirable among people making nonlabor income and are often sold for bribes.

One should also bear in mind that enterprises of the domestic services system, for example, are not supplied fully with funded raw materials (about 60 percent). The other additional materials are bought on a noncentralized basis. And frequently leather goods, fur, velvet, linoleum, timber, polyethylene granules, and other scarce materials are acquired for bribes.

Sometimes shadow economy operators organize production of unaccounted-for output in shops located a significant distance from the main production facility. Shortcomings in the sphere of employment of the population, the need to expand various forms of at-home labor, and the like are used as a pretext to open or expand these shops in resort areas.

And, as practice shows, the leader of the criminal milieu, the so-called "supreme companion," is usually listed as a worker in the shop or does not work anywhere at all. However, the "companion" usually exercises leadership over the shop, including materially accountable persons, personally or through his close associates. He directly organizes, as we already mentioned, the opening of the shop and the production of "salable" output, provides raw materials for bribes, sets up selling of the unaccounted-for output, and determines the share of each accessory ("lesser companions").

It is noteworthy that recently shadow economy operators active in the sphere of individual labor activity frequently are using plastic toys, children's plastic "Constructor" sets of GDR manufacture, and other similar goods bought up in stores in large quantities as the raw material for mass production of plastic items (clips, beach sandals). It should be taken into account that this channel for obtaining raw materials is not prohibited, although it does not rule out the possibility of buying up the needed materials from thieves.

The criminals carefully consider which of the drivers of truck-mounted stores and trucks which carry the output of these objects to recruit for the underground business, study their routes of travel, including through GAI (highway patrol) stations, and determine the markets or trade enterprises for selling the output.

The scope of the criminal activity of shadow economy operators can be corroborated using the following example: during the manufacturing process for unaccounted-for shoes at domestic services objects in Stavropol Kray, they got an illegal income of 20 rubles per pair of running shoes.

Frequently strictly funded raw and processed materials which do not appear in retail trade (polyethylene granules, yarn, rolled metal products, and the like) are used in illegal production. However, it is not always possible to ascertain the sources for obtaining these materials using operational search and procedural methods; because of that difficulties arise in categorizing the criminal acts of operators. It is important to the struggle against the shadow economy to close the channels for selling things stolen by cooperative members and persons involved in

individual labor activity. To do this employees of monitoring and law enforcement organs should pay attention to the type of raw and processed materials used in manufacturing articles and clarify whether they are strictly funded or are found in retail trade. Shadow economy operators frequently use residential and non-residential structures belonging to citizens on personal property rights as terminal bases to store the illegally obtained raw and processed materials.

Study of the practical work of law enforcement organs indicates that certain major thieves, shadow economy operators, and other criminals have to a degree joined with leaders of the criminal milieu.

Practice shows that the fact that thieves, bribe-takers and speculators, shadow economy operators, foreign currency traders, and other persons living on nonlabor income have large sums of money and assets has resulted in the spread in some regions of the country of crimes involving extortion accompanied by robbery, theft, bodily injury, and murder. We are talking of cases of criminal elements assessing a kind of "tribute" (tax) on the nonlabor income of certain individuals, shadow economy operators among them. On the other hand, the latter are frequently used by members of stable criminal groups who commit crimes while under criminal investigation as "bankers" to keep money and valuables obtained as a result of committing various mercenary and violent mercenary crimes.

Moreover, in practice there are cases where shadow economy operators give material assistance to leaders of the criminal milieu to protect their interests and personal safety from possible infringements on the part of competitors as well as other groups of extortionists and to influence certain "lesser companions," participants in a criminal trial, or employees of law enforcement organs or compromise the latter.

Recently not only shadow economy operators who are active in the individual-cooperative sector but also honest cooperative members and persons involved in legal individual labor activity are becoming the victims of racketeers.

In this way, one may draw the conclusion that the role of organizers of criminal groups, the so-called shadow economy operators, is mainly the following:

- organizing the operation of the system of ties which makes up the basis of efficient organized criminal activity (for example, selecting objects of the economy where illegal production is to be developed, selecting "lesser companions"—agents, physical and technical support for the cover of the criminal activity, searching for new regions, markets, and orders, resolving issues of obtaining equipment, machine tools, raw and processed materials, and the like);
- in accordance with share contributions determining the share of each companion and his fulfillment of the

duties he has assumed (sometimes fixed in the contract concluded between the members of the criminal group), including for deductions for depreciation, transport, and other costs; organizing opposition to law enforcement organs and guaranteeing the personal security of the participants in the criminal groups and their relatives and friends, and the like.

The key element in the fight against the shadow economy should be, above all, a complex of measures on the development of a socialist market to provide incentives for self-regulation and self-development and competitiveness of commodity producers who represent different sectors of the economy.

In-depth scientific research on the real structure and volume of the population's effective demand and the level of its satisfaction is also important. In our opinion there is a persistent need to eliminate the monopoly position of certain producers of goods and services as soon as possible and for these purposes to develop antimonopoly legislation and create parallel structures in production, turnover, and the services sphere.

The problem is, in our opinion, creating an effective system of control over incomes of the population which ensures taxation of the total income of citizens on the basis of declarations and a progressive tax scale and strengthening legal accountability for tax evasion.

Sharing the opinion of economic scientists on the need to look for new channels of commodity support for the monetary incomes of the population involving, among other things, accelerated development of cooperative and individual housing construction, sale of apartments, and growth in the paid services sphere, especially repair, as well as recreation and tourism (see [Source 13]), one should take into account the activation of the shadow economy in precisely these directions of permissible economic activity. From that one can foresee the situation which will take shape if to satisfy the population's demand for construction materials, for example, they are sent to the market according to demand and only later for construction.

In the opinion of T.I. Zaslavskaya, which we also support, one of the elements of the concept of perestroika is removing the bans on all useful types of enterprising economic, organizational, and technical activity of working people, developing the cooperative and family forms of small socialist enterprise, and expanding opportunities for increasing personal incomes through supplemental highly-skilled labor (see [Source 14]). In other words, we are speaking of legalizing socially necessary types of economic activity and involving them in the sphere of the legal economy and limiting the boundaries of the shadow economy. This path, it seems to us, is the most promising.

Taking into account the growing trend toward mercenary crime and its constantly greater use in the sphere of economics, it is obviously necessary to have expert examination of drafts of economic, social, and ecological

programs and precise legislative regulation of all issues of the legal protection of the economic interests of socialist society as a whole and of state, cooperative, and other social enterprises and organizations and certain citizens in particular; that will insure the uniformity of activity subject to the law, social justice, and the inevitability of punishment of persons who commit economic violations of the law. In this connection, in our opinion, deserving of attention are the proposals of a number of practical and scientific workers on developing a program for refining the system of criminological research institutions throughout the country and in all sectors of the economy; setting up a criminological services office at enterprises and in departments, including those operating on cost-accounting and cooperative principles; and for these purposes training criminological research experts in juridical VUZes.

Footnotes

1. In examining nonlabor income as obtained by the person acquiring it by an illegal means and without applying his own labor or in amounts which substantially exceed his personal expenditures, one may single out two features of this income: relative to the law (that is, the illegality of the actions to obtain the income) and economic (that is, the nonequivalency of income to the expenditure of labor applied). In our opinion, illegality, that is, the illegal nature of the receipt of the income, is a compulsory feature of the legal concept of "nonlabor income." The illegality of nonlabor income involves violation of the norms of various branches of the law and should be prosecuted by law. Therefore, attempts of certain authors to give a broad definition to the concept of nonlabor income, including in it legal income of citizens whose sources are not their personal labor activity (winnings on lottery tickets or state bonds, interest on investments, stock dividends, inherited property, and the like) are hardly justified.

2. There are other viewpoints on this issue; see, for example, [Source 12].

3. Thus, A. Larkov observes, with good reason in our opinion, that even the figure 150 billion rubles is too low to characterize the financial potential of the shadow economy, since it does not take into account the material damages from theft, subsidies for buying agricultural products, losses from criminal bad management and theft of unaccounted-for output, and in addition the high level of concealment of economic crimes, above all insider theft (see [Source 6]).

4. Other authors cite different data on this issue. In the opinion of A. Shokhin, the contingent of people involved in individual labor in this sphere is 1.7-2 million [Source 18].

5. In accordance with existing legislation, "cases... where new products are created not through the personal labor of those guilty but through processing of bought up

goods, including at state, cooperative, and social enterprises," should be considered speculation [Source 3, p 636].

6. We share the opinion expressed in the literature that it is a good idea to use the term "private enterprise activity" in present conditions [Source 11]. At the same time the grounds for considering private enterprise activity an independent type of prohibited individual labor activity are questionable, since in the first case we are essentially speaking of illegal enterprise (the organizational-distributional side of economic activity), and in the second, based on the sense of Article 1 of the USSR Law on Individual Labor Activity, violation of the established list of prohibited types of socially useful activity of citizens in direct production of goods and rendering of paid services.

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Opposition Leader Details Campaign Against Kalininskaya Nuclear Plant

90WN0084A LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
No 17, 27 Apr 90 p 10

[Article by Yu. Shcherbakov, chairman of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature Kalininskiy Department Presidium, deputy chairman of the Central Soviet Presidium commission for the public examination of the ecological situation in the Kalininskaya Nuclear Power Station zone and the draft plans for expanding the station, and Kalininskiy State University professor: "An Atomic Mine on the Upper Volga"]

[Text] In the 50th issue of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA for last year, I read an article by Boris Kurkin entitled "Parameters of Nuclear Safety or a Ragout of Dead Rats" and I cannot fail to comment on it.

I completely agree with the author and the newspaper: Not one of the absolutely necessary conditions for the accident-free and ecologically least dangerous development of nuclear power in our country has been—alas!—implemented during the designing, construction and operation of nuclear power stations—and mainly because of the resistant attitude on the part of our domestic nuclear technocracy to the problem. To a great extent, this is why we are building both nuclear power stations and nuclear heat and electric power stations where one should not build such stations due to natural and other component factors. This is criminal.

Unfortunately, even the Kalininskaya Nuclear Power Station in Udomlya is not an exception in this respect. As one of the organizers and participants in its public examination, I am concerned about the need for an intelligent siting of nuclear power installations. First of all, however, so that the reader will not form the opinion that a public examination is surely an examination by dilettantes (a kind of public organization that monitors the plans of scientists and law-makers for a "peaceful" atom). I should state that this is not the case at all. Our Central Soviet Presidium commission for a public examination of the ecological situation in the nuclear power plant zone and of the plans for expanding the station united scientists in different specialties from the very first moment. The Central Soviet of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Nature discusses the commission's conclusions. Its composition also has sufficient people who are competent in the area of nuclear power and the ecology. Thus, it is not worthwhile to talk about dilettantism and a purely emotional approach that involves a love of meetings.

Our commission did not originate accidentally. At the time, all of us—even scientists—were in a certain euphoric condition with regards to the development of "peaceful" nuclear energy. The Tver people greeted the news of the construction of a nuclear power station in Udomlya near Kalinin with a certain sense of patriotism. Even the fact that the station would be built on the Upper Volga basin's watershed itself did not cause any

misgivings: You see, the atom was "peaceful" and the station—"ecologically clean."

The builders started up its first unit in 1984. Something did not go well. The scientists in our university considered it their duty to work with the Kalininskaya nuclear plant's collective. They asked me to write up a plan for cooperation.

I had to delve into the essence of the matter. At the time, of course, far from everyone had access to the material. However, even on the basis of the incomplete data with which I managed to acquaint myself, doubts originated in my mind regarding whether the construction site had been correctly selected, considering the geophysical structure and the ecology and capacity of the region—water resources are limited.

Having discussed the situation, Yu. A. Abramov, a Kalinin University professor, and I wrote a report. The rector's office approved it. The report was sent to the party obkom.

It was impossible not to understand our report. It did not require that one be a specialist. However, we encountered not so much a lack of understanding but a desire not to understand. That same euphoria had affected everyone. Multimillions in investments. The transformation of "provincial" Udomlya into an industrial city of power engineers. The oblast's prestige....

As a result, not our conclusions but the plans of the Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry received support. On the site where even the second nuclear power station unit was ecologically contra-indicated, it was decided to build eight—a million kilowatts each.

All of the studies for the eight million-kilowatt units reached the oblispolkom in 1986. However.... as they say in Rus, there was no happiness; the accident helped. After the tragedy at Chernobyl, not only public opinion took our side. It became easier to knock on the doors of certain offices.

Our group grew considerably and was filled with employees of the oblast planning commission, the oblast medical and epidemiological station and the Society for the Protection of Nature. It found quite a few helpers in other competent organizations and departments. We received the oblispolkom's complete support. This significantly expanded the capabilities of the public commission of experts. It is a public one primarily because it works without pay.

Altogether, almost 15 competent organizations have helped us to draw objective scientific conclusions regarding the entire complex of problems. The USSR Academy of Sciences is among them. Scientist and academicians A. P. Aleksandrov and V. A. Kirillin and corresponding member A. A. Sarkisov, the most authoritative people in the energy area, have signed off on our conclusions. Leading employees in the Institute for Applied

Geophysics in the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the Main Geophysical Observatory imeni A. I. Voyeykov, one of the main administrations in the USSR Ministry of Health, and the Moscow-Oka Basin Administration have supported our conclusions. In December of last year, the results of the expert group's work were reported on and considered during a bureau session of the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific council on biosphere problems.

The oblispolkom leadership—especially its chairman, V. A. Suslov—supported our recommendations to halt the further expansion of the nuclear power station. The allocation of construction sites was halted on the basis of an oblispolkom decision. At that time, the designers and builders began to worry.

Their main counterargument: The country needs power!

Yes, it needs it, who can dispute this? However, should it really be at any cost? The cost of new Chernobyls? And where! In the very heart of Russia. On a watershed in an area where its main rivers have their sources! Should something similar to Chernobyl happen here—not Moscow, not the Volga region and not the country's European part itself would escape destruction. And only the European part?

One of the serious dangers that can potentially threaten the nuclear power station in Udomlya is the karst phenomenon. The plan and certificate of Atomenergo-proyekt's Gorkiy department dated 10 October 1987 categorically deny the possibility of karst formations in the zone of the nuclear power station. Objective research convinces one otherwise.

The station is located on a carbon field. The carbon rocks were formed approximately 200 million years ago as sea-bottom deposits. Limestone and dolomite, which are interlayered with chalky clay, predominate here. They are actively destroyed under the influence of temperature, atmospheric precipitation and underground water. Consequently, ancient karst formations should exist among them.

At the time, we still did not have access to the investigations' materials. That is why we ourselves had to look for bore holes and construct a profile of the terrain. Our assumptions were justified. Besides our own research, we had the findings of the Kalininskaya geological survey party of the Tsentrgeologiya Production Association on this question. Their conclusion proves that karst forming is continuing. The designers had essentially nothing to say to contradict this.

Nevertheless, karst is not dangerous by itself if you approach it from the appropriate engineering positions. It is the fact that this was not taken into consideration during the designing. The designers, in rejecting karst, did not provide for any measures against it. This is dangerous.

Even under complete safety conditions, however, the nuclear power station in Udomlya will not be able to operate at its designed capacity because there is not enough water to cool four units—the two commissioned and two under construction—and eight of them are being planned!

We tracked zones in Western Europe and North America that adjoin the watersheds of large rivers. Nowhere, even in our country, did we find large industrial installations on them. The world's historical experience takes the specific nature and special environmental protection role of watershed areas into consideration. Our present designer "atomic scientists" have disregarded this experience and have planted a very large nuclear power station on a watershed. As a result, besides the danger of poisoning the Volga region and the regions of other rivers with radioactive discharges, a water supply problem has arisen.

A watershed is called a watershed because all water flows from it. The only credit item in the water balance on these territories is atmospheric precipitation. The designers tried to prove that there is sufficient for the operation of the four units. We decided to check the water balance that they compiled. It was not easy to do this. The Northwest Administration of the hydrometeorological service replied to a letter from V. A. Suslov, chairman of the oblispolkom, with a rejection.

Subsequently, we took 50 years of oblast hydrometeorological bureau data for Bologoye, Maksatikha and Vyshniy Volochek as the apices of a triangle within which Udomlya is located. Based on them, we obtained the average annual amount of precipitation in the area of the nuclear power station. In addition, it was necessary to take losses from evaporation into consideration. There is a special hydrological laboratory—one of the most respected in the country—in the city of Valday. It is located north of Udomlya and evaporation is less there. However, all of its data helped us to compile a map of the evaporation surfaces of the above-mentioned coolant lakes' water catchment area. Calculations showed that 60 million cubic meters a year are required to supply only the four nuclear power station units with water, or more than two-thirds of the average annual water catchment area of Lake Udomlya from which the Syezha River flows. If one takes this water for the plant's needs, the Syezha will perish. Based on common sense, it is no accident that the law prevents removing more than a third of the annual run-off from rivers. The designers have tried to get around this obstacle by being silent about it. However, one cannot go around nature's laws. The intake of such an amount of water threatens the lake (it has already begun to overheat), the Syezha and the surrounding area with a catastrophe.

How can this be? The USSR people's deputies from our oblast submitted an inquiry to the Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry. The ministry's reply dated 27 June 1989 says that the cooling system will be replaced "by

the construction of water-cooling towers." Yes, water-cooling towers will cool water more efficiently than the lake itself. However, ... from where should the water come? Not from the lakes located here and not from the flow of the Syezha—there is not enough for this.

The designers presumably planned to use the water resources in the Mologa River basin. We researched this question also. At its lowest level, the Mologa does not have the necessary amount of water. This means that it would be necessary to regulate its flow, that is, build a dam and a reservoir—another stagnant "sea" in the Upper Volga basin and an extremely extensive one. The Mologa in its upper portion, which it would be necessary to "regulate," flows along the so-called Mologa Depression, which is an extensive and flat one. We already know from the experience of other submerged areas, of which our country has more than enough, what it means to build a reservoir under such conditions. It means the loss of a large land-tenure territory, enormous financial expenditures, prolonged construction, and irreversible ecological changes in the contiguous region.

It seems that the Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry has—under the impact of the irrefutable facts—begun to understand, recognizing that "without additional coolers one cannot limit the thermal strain" on the lakes that will be operating within the orbit of the nuclear power plant (with the construction of the planned units, it would be necessary to include the neighboring lakes of Kezadra and Navolok here). Atomenergoprojekt has developed "Design Proposals for Reconstructing the Kalininskaya Nuclear Power Station Cooling System Considering the First and Second Phases."

The very fact of reconstructing that which has still not been built testifies to the low quality of the designing and the lack of trust in the project. It is planned to expend 270 million rubles on the general reconstruction. After the building of the water-cooling towers, the "average heating" of the water in the cooling lakes during summertime will be equal to five degrees Celsius in the designers' opinion. However ... the question of where to get the water has not been removed. Also, what is meant by "average heating" if the warming already is causing fish to die in the discharge zone?

I have intentionally not touched upon the problems of the plant's accident-free operation. Equipment failures increased significantly with the start-up of the second unit. There were 44 of them during 1987, including 11 due to the fault of the personnel. There were 13 and 4, respectively, during 1988 [sic]. They also occurred during last year. G. A. Shchapov, the plant's director, cited these data during a press conference in Udomlya.

We have information from the Kalinin Oblast medical and epidemiological station—a state agency and a completely competent one—that the radiation situation in the area of the nuclear power station is causing uneasiness. What will happen when the units complete their service life and it is necessary to shut down the plant?

These are special subjects. I will only say that Atomenergoprojekt has still not offered a plan for maximum permissible discharges into the atmosphere and a forecast of the local population's exposure to radiation for the 70 years. An automatic system for monitoring the radiation situation, which the draft provided for, has still not been set up in the 30-kilometer zone.

The designers and operators prefer to work "in the dark" on the off chance that the population will not learn about the possible dangers. This, however, only inflames passions around the nuclear power station even more—and they are justified to a great extent.

According to the "Requirements for Siting Nuclear Power Stations," their maximum capacity should reach eight million kilowatts only under favorable conditions. The conditions in which the Kalininskaya Nuclear Power Station is being built—karst processes, the location of the plant on a tectonic break and a watershed with limited water supply resources and the danger of radioactive contamination of the Volga and Msta—are extremely unfavorable. For these reasons, even the two units here are providing 25 million rubles of electrical energy less than the plans and specifications call for. The Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry, however, intends to complete and start up the third and fourth million-kilowatt units.

Regarding the others—the fifth to eighth, circumstances are changing considerably and not without the influence of the public commission of experts. A meeting on questions concerning the construction of the Kalininskaya Nuclear Power Station was held during January of this year with L. D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. I participated in the debates. A decision not to design and build the third and fourth phases of the Kalininskaya Nuclear Power Station (the fifth-eighth units) was agreed to. The USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment was given the mission of conducting as rapidly and as carefully as possible a state examination of the karst problems in the vicinity of the nuclear power station's building site and the water balance for its operating units and those being built. A special state commission has been established.

Work has been begun, the ice has begun to break. We are hoping for fruitful cooperation with the "atomic scientist" power engineers and for a mutual understanding and wise solution of the problems. No matter how difficult it is, we will not retreat from our position.

One cannot allow a very powerful atomic delayed-action and long-term "mine" to be placed at the very heart of Russia, on the watershed of its main European rivers and in the upper reaches of the Volga in the form of the next power giant. Boris Kurkin and everyone, who strongly opposes it, are correct: Russia is not a testing ground for irresponsible experiments. This concerns not only its people but all the inhabitants of the earth.

Uzbekistan Sees Series of Radioactive Substance Mishandling Incidents

90WN0086A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
25 Apr 90 p 3

[UzTAG report: "In a Ravine Near Almalyk...And Not Only There"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Radiation supervisors found some strange objects in a ravine near Almalyk. They were elliptical objects with flattened ends, weighing 150 kilograms each. All four were sources of gamma radiation....

"The radioactive anomaly was detected by helicopter," said Yu. Semenov, chief of the Radiation Ecological Division of the Krasnokholmskgeologiya Production-Geological Association. "When the inspectors arrived at the site, they found the items in a lead casing. Fortunately, the casing was intact."

It will be the job of the oblast public health and epidemiology center and the responsible agencies to find out how the sources of radiation ended up near the substation of the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgical Combine and who put them there.

Experts define this discovery as a major emergency. The dosimeters registered radiation of more than a roentgen per hour. It is horrifying to think of the damage the carelessly discarded "scrap metal" could have inflicted on nature and the human being. Now the items are being kept in the storage facility of the combine's radioisotope laboratory.

"Just recently this kind of 'hidden treasure' was discovered only by accident," Yu. Semenov went on to say. "Now we have begun a methodical search. We are doing all of this work in conjunction with civil defense offices and the radiological laboratories of public health and epidemiology centers. Our experts are drawing up a map of the radioactive gamma background of populated points. The first in line will be Tashkent and the large industrial and oblast centers.

"Regrettably, these discoveries are not isolated incidents. Division radiation inspectors were amazed by some manure they found near the Tashkent Hippodrome in Solnechnyy. The level of radioactivity in a space of 20 meters by 40 meters was 10 times as high as the permissible limit. And this manure was going to be spread on the fields!"

Investigations in Samarkand turned up sources of radioactivity on the grounds of an oncological clinic and a home for the elderly. The doses of radiation were far from harmless. This is truly a case of negligence bordering on insanity.

In Tashkent the division inspected 114 schools and tekhnikums. Unsupervised sources of radioactivity were found in a third of them and were removed. Sources in the ravines of the Uzbek Metallurgical Plant are almost inaccessible. Inspector L. Chernikov detected an

anomaly during an automobile gamma survey of Bekabad and reported that the region was inaccessible to the population, but the metallurgical dump sites were growing and should be covered with a meter of clean soil.

Measures of this kind, however, eliminate the result but not the cause. Why are the dump sites radioactive? Apparently, sources of radiation were smelted along with scrap metal, like the find in Almalyk.

It is a significant point that the "owners" of dangerous "scrap" are not being monitored strictly yet. The incident in Almalyk is further evidence of this. The elementary rules of safety are still not being observed in the choice of construction sites.

According to existing rules, all building sites must be tested for radioactivity. Last year, however, the division received only a single request from the Tashkent gorispolkom to inspect the Urikzor lot, which had been approved as a site for an individual construction project. Experts took 120 samples of earth from the garbage dump. They conducted a detailed analysis. Their conclusion was: Clean! There were no more requests.

There is an old saying that it is easier to prevent an illness than to treat it. This also applies to our topic. The violation of regulations costs much more than their observance.

The latest report of division personnel is that the gamma-radioactive background of Tashkent is normal.

Public Ecological Union Formed in Karakalpakiya

90WN0086B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
2 May 90 p 4

[Article by V. Lutsenko, UzTAG correspondent: "An Ecological Union Has Been Formed"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] A new public organization—the Union for the Protection of the Aral and Amu-Darya—has been registered in Nukus. This is the first ecological association in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR.

"We want to normalize the ecological situation in the cis-Aral zone and save the Aral Sea, the Amu-Darya, and its delta," said Chairman Orzabay Abdirakhmanov of the union organizing committee. "By encouraging scientists, writers, journalists, artists, and the international public to cooperate with us, we hope to solicit and draft competent, sound, and promising proposals aimed at the protection of the environment and the further development of the regional economy and culture. We will promote the adoption of a public program to save the Aral, the Amu-Darya, and its delta. We also hope to take part in drafting a law holding officials accountable for environmental damage and for the production and sale of foods dangerous to human health.

"The set of proposals drafted by the union include suggestions on the need to enhance the overall ecological

awareness of the population and conduct regular ecological appraisals of industrial facilities when they are still in the planning stage. The organization advocates conservation measures corresponding to international standards and the compilation of a long-range environmental protection program. We are insisting on the establishment of the legal bases for the distribution of scarce water resources among the Central Asian republics."

Labor Leaders Review Baltic Pollution Issues at Helsinki Conference

90WN0083A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 May 90 p 3

[Article by P. Volpyanskiy, TRUD correspondent: "The 'World's Sea' Requires Protection; It Is Not Visible to the Eye but the Baltic Is Slowly Dying"]

[Text] Helsinki—"The prospects of a slow death from 'suffocation' threatens the Baltic Sea"—this diagnosis of ecologists regarding the condition of this body of water remains in effect despite a number of steps that have already been taken.

The participants in an international conference of GDR, Danish, Norwegian, USSR, Swedish, Finnish, and FRG metal-worker trade unions, which was held in Helsinki on questions regarding the environment of the Baltic region, arrived at this conclusion. It was the first meeting of this type in trade union movement practices since it was held at the branch level. The presentations of the trade union speakers alternated with explanations by scientists who were also included in the composition of the delegations.

Their comments were extremely indispensable since they were talking about a unique maritime basin of 386,000 square kilometers which is practically enclosed and which has a completely special nature. Once completely unpolluted, the Baltic is on the verge of "oxygen starvation" both because of man's activities and because of its poor exchange with the world's oceans.

True, the shortage of oxygen connected with this poor exchange would hardly entail serious consequences if man had not "nudged on" nature and aggravated the imbalance existing in it. Up to 15,000 tons of metal and 50,000 tons of petroleum products annually get into the Baltic Sea. Rain and rivers wash down into it approximately a million tons of nitrogen- and 77,000 tons of phosphorus-containing substances. This does not consider the 400,000 tons of nitrogen and 6,000 tons of phosphorus that arrive here along with atmospheric precipitation. The main pollution source has been the waste water from enterprises in the approximately 100 cities and industrial centers in the coastal zone that has a population of tens of millions of people. The paper-making industry is among the "leading" branches.

The poisoning of the basin's deep waters occurs with the settling of the enormous quantity of organic substances to the bottom. Bacteria, which do not need oxygen, begin the "burial" of the wastes. When doing this, hydrogen

sulfide is released in a large amount—a poison for all more highly organized sea creatures. The death of everything alive threatens individual areas of the Baltic. The shallow bays—the Gulf of Bothnia, the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Riga—which cut deeply inland are in an especially critical condition. Lithuania alone pours up to 100 million tons of slop a year into the sea.

In the vicinity of the Kattegat Strait, Swedish fisherman haul in full nets of fish. However, there is nothing to be happy about: The reason for the large catches is the dying of the bottom water layers which forces herring, salmon and other species to leave the Baltic. Several years ago, the Swedish and Danish authorities imposed a ban on importing liver from Baltic cod—the fish contained too many poisons. Sea birds are ceasing to build nests. The teeth of seals have begun to fall out. Their number has been reduced from 100,000 to 9,000.

N. I. Zinovyev, chairman of the heavy machine building workers' trade union Central Committee, evaluated the meeting's results as follows: "I must say that there are still more questions than answers. Our combined delegation had representatives from four branch organizations on the union scale; representatives from trade unions in a number of enterprises in Vilnius, Riga, Klaypeda, and Sestroretsk; and scientists from Leningrad. The discussions were energetic; however, they were not simple ones but complicated like the situation itself in which the sea, which is calling for help, finds itself. Alas, the trade unions still cannot boast that they have been in the vanguard of the environmental protection movement...."

Yes, others were actually the first to sound the alarm. As a result, the Baltic region states concluded in 1974 the Helsinki convention which required them to reduce the pollution of the sea "as far as possible" and "using all available resources." They have managed to reduce the content of such chemicals as, for example, DDT, which is banned everywhere, in the water. The melting down and burning of waste has been banned in the Baltic. Biologists are inclined to consider metal impurities in the open seas and not near the shore as "not dangerous." A decision has been made to reduce twofold by 1995 the discharge of nutrient salts, heavy metals and poisonous organic compounds. However, this draft is far from practical implementation. The substances, which they are talking about, have not been detailed in it and the amounts of harmful impurities, which have been accumulated at the present time, have not been determined even approximately.

N. I. Zinovyev continued: "Trade unions should take an uncompromising position regarding departmental approaches and participate without fail in the ecological examinations of important projects and economic decisions. Our task on the spot is to direct the activity of labor's technical inspectors toward the ecology. It is necessary to establish branches for the production of environmental protection equipment which in point of fact we do not have. Who should design it if not metal

workers? Practically all workers in the metal industry can participate within their abilities in correcting the state of affairs in the Baltic. There are two ways. As producers, we can, using our qualifications and at our own positions, demand that ecological factors be considered when selecting materials. As consumers, we can refuse to use an industrial product that has a harmful effect on the environment. This is a question of our relationship to life—our own and our children's...."

In the resolution that was adopted during the conference, its participants demanded that the governments of the region's countries achieve an actual and not a formal twofold reduction in the pollution intensity of the "world's sea"—the Baltic—by 1995. They welcomed the establishment of the so-called Northern Environment Fund, which had been announced previously. They also called upon state agencies to provide financial help in designing environmental protection technologies.

Health Minister Investigates Turkmenia

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in Russian 1 Jun 90 p 1

[Interview with USSR Minister of Health Igor Nikolayevich Denisov by a Turkmeninform correspondent: "Concern for Mothers and Children"]

[Text] A USSR Ministry of Health, USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Women's Affairs and Protection of Families, Motherhood, and Childhood, and the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin delegation headed by USSR Minister of Health I.N. Denisov was in the Republic for several days. Members of the delegation familiarized themselves with the condition of the maternity and childhood service and visited a number of treatment facilities.

A Turkmeninform correspondent obtained an interview with I.N. Denisov.

[TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA] Igor Nikolayevich, this is your first trip throughout the country as the USSR Minister of Health. Why did you decide to begin with Turkestan?

[Denisov] I think that the Ministry of Health and its leaders must precisely react to those sore points that we have in our system and there are quite a few of them today. The highest infant mortality rate in the country is in your region. It is precisely this that caused the decision to conduct a USSR Ministry of Health collegium in Ashkhabad jointly with the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee and the Soviet Children's Fund board presidium.

The meeting was preceded by familiarizing Ministry of Health staff associates and USSR Supreme Soviet Committee and Children's Fund representatives with the

state of public health in your Republic. I must point out that pleasant changes have occurred during the two years that separate us from the previous collegium that was also conducted in Ashkhabad. I place among them those public health facilities that were transferred to it by way of transferring and reequipping administrative buildings. But time is not standing still. We need to radically change the attitude toward this important sector of public health organ work. One of the first Decrees of the President of the USSR and other Party and government documents are also aimed at this. Therefore there is an urgent need in the Republic to examine this issue to determine specific measures in the area of training personnel and using those material technical resources that public health has at its disposal, in particular.

[TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA] It is obvious that Republic public health forces alone cannot deal with this task. What kind of assistance will the USSR Ministry of Health provide?

[Denisov] We discussed this issue during the meeting with the Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman and Turkmenistan CP Central Committee First Secretary S.A. Niyazov and with Council of Ministers Chairman Kh. Akhmedov. And already at the current collegium we decided to deliver more than one million rubles worth of imported medical equipment and half a million rubles worth of medical preparations for the needs of the childhood and obstetric aid service to the republic in addition to what has already been planned. We have decided to open a maternity and childhood protection center equipped with the most modern equipment in Tashauz next year. We are examining the issue of opening a diagnostic center in Chardzhoy.

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